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THE
Dangers
OF
BRITISH INDIA,
FROM
FRENCH INVASION
AND
MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS.



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THE
DANGERS
OF
BRITISH INDIA,
FROM
French Invasion
AND
MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

To which are added,
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE CASPIAN SEA
AND THE GANGES;

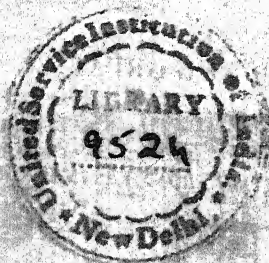
A
NARRATIVE
OF THE REVOLUTIONS WHICH THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED
Subsequent to the Expedition of
ALEXANDER THE GREAT;
AND
A FEW HINTS RESPECTING
THE DEFENCE OF THE BRITISH FRONTIERS IN HINDUSTAN.

BY
DAVID HOPKINS,
Of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Medical Establishment.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY BLACK, PARRY, AND KINGSBURY,
Booksellers to the Honourable East India Company.

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A



THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ. M. P.

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

I published the first edition of this little work without my name, because I was fearful of the reception which it might meet with, and not aware that it contained any thing which rendered avowal necessary.

The indulgence with which it has been flattered, removes the necessity of concealment; and, in subscribing my name, I cannot withhold the opportunity which it affords me of stating to the public my particular obligations to a gentleman whom to know is to admire and esteem, and who, by his kindness, commands the gratitude, and by his friendship brightens the prospects, of my future life.

Wherever that life may be passed, and whatever may be the vicissitudes to which Providence may subject it, I cannot fail to acquire firmness when I think of the family of Hafod, or to derive consolation when I hear they are happy.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

DAVID HOPKINS.

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THE
Dangers
OF
BRITISH INDIA,
&c. &c.

AT the present moment, when the inveterate enemy of this country is exerting all the efforts of his mind, and all the strength of the states which he has enslaved, to accomplish our ruin as a free and independent nation, it becomes, more than ever, our duty to unite hand, head, and heart, in opposing his designs ; and to suspend, and forget altogether, those party animosities, whether civil or religious, which may in any way diminish or distract our efforts. There is nothing which can so effectually paralyze these efforts as the diffusion of an idea, that one part of the people is oppressed by the other, and has a less interest in the preservation and maintenance of the existing government. Nor is the idea more injurious than it is unjust. Every honest man has an equal interest

in the support of those laws which secure his innocent freedom, and extend impartial punishment to the person who attempts his property, life, or domestic happiness. But were circumstances different, this is not the fit time, if ever there can be a fit time, to go about and persuade the people that they are ill governed. Such persuaders, indeed, will seldom want hearers; for their abuse is readily received; human weakness is inclined to believe what it wishes to be true; and the consequences of personal misconduct, poverty and its train of evils, are willingly thrown from the individual who is, at once, the cause and the sufferer, to the government itself, or those who administer it. But the effects of such an impression are deeply to be regretted. Discontent assumes a wider circulation, and the arm of every person thus persuaded is unnerved, and rendered useless to his country; he is led to believe that he has no personal rights to protect, and that he is called upon to undertake the gratuitous defence of others in a cause where he has no interest at stake.

Truth, duty, and individual interest, point out a very different line of conduct. If there be *any thing* worth defending in a country, liberty of person, security of property, freedom of employment, the participation of equal laws, and the

uncontrolled exercise of religious worship, are, surely, among the most valuable possessions that its people can contend for. These the inhabitants of this country, of every rank and persuasion, enjoy at present, and have enjoyed long. These are now at issue; for the enemy's attack is against the *personal liberties of every individual in the British empire*, as well as against the independence and existence of the British government. Two small islands in the Atlantic are all of Europe that has not been despoiled by the harpies, or has not crouched to the gigantic power of revolutionary France; their monarch is the only one that has not obeyed the mandates, or fled the vengeance, of the Corsican, because their monarch is the only one who reigns over a free people. The threats of the enemy are inferior only to his disappointment. Britain alone obstructs his complete success! Britain has withdrawn a legitimate sovereign from his trammels! Britain prevents the accomplishment of his three wishes.* The laurels of conquest refuse to flourish, and fade upon his brow, until this nation shall send its princes to follow his triumphal car. The sword of our Edward, and the armour of our Henry; the tapestry of Blenheim, the trophies in St. Paul's, and the artillery in our arsenals, are

* Ships, commerce, colonies.

wanted to decorate the capital of the spoiler of the world, and to be placed by the side of the stolen apparel of Frederick, and the plunder of Italy and Prussia. Until this country be reduced, he cannot unite the trophies of the eastern and western world to the displayed eagles of the north and south ; nor, what is of still mightier moment in his wishes, and in the apprehension of every thinking being, can he, while Britain remains unsubdued, spread his gloomy despotism over the earth, and leave no enlightened spot to invite the steps of the weary, and to afford refuge to the oppressed.

Such being the cause of his enmity to us, and such the consequences to which it would lead, is it probable it can ever cease, but with our freedom ; is there any one among us who can wish it to cease so ? God forbid ! But may it not be removed or mitigated ? Has Buonaparte, then, been ever known to relinquish any project, though he may have altered his mode of execution ? But some will say, may we not obtain peace from him, and thus relieve ourselves from the weight of the impending storm ? Yes, doubtless, we may obtain *a peace* : but of what kind ? one that will increase the tempest which it may suspend : a peace that we must purchase by the relinquishment of conquests that are not to be

made again without heavy charges, while he gives up only such as he can readily recover, and has already wasted ; a peace, in short, that will afford him the surest means of undermining our power. We well knew the nature and value of a Corsican peace, when the influence of the tyrant was less extensive, and the knowledge encourages no hasty experiment of another trial. What, then, shall we do ? We must resist manfully. The fate of war is in the hands of Providence. Though our dangers appear great and multiplied, we must continue ; though the whole continent is formed into a league, perhaps, indeed, an unwilling one, against us, yet the battle is not always to the many. The stake contended for is every thing dear to mankind — the God of justice is the umpire.

For such a stake, who, that is not a vassal of France, will refuse to contend ! who, that is not an enemy to his country, will dispute its value, or weaken the ardour of its defenders ! Where the few are opposed to the many, union, zealous union, is essential to their success. The liberty which they enjoy is the tie that binds them ; the connections which they love, form the zeal which animates them. Churchman, Dissenter, and Catholic have the same cause to defend. Where their general existence is threatened, their mutual

differences should cease. The season in which they are all equally attacked, is not the season to think of any thing but equal, united resistance.

Religious disputes have, at all times, been attended with the most fatal consequences to the country in which they are excited. They are those that involve the highest interests of mankind, and render calm discussion almost impracticable. Their agitation must, therefore, be at all times to be deprecated, as it tends to inflame passion, and to disunite the people ; and, in these realms, their agitation seems unnecessary at any time, for the great national and personal stake is ever the same. If power be withheld from some, it is the only enjoyment that no one has a right to demand, and *that* which it is indiscreet in any to require. Every other motive to co-operation has been increased during this reign, by the removal of those difficulties, whether real or imaginary, under which those persons laboured who refused their respect to the established worship of the country.

Surely, enough has now been seen of the spirit of revolution (a spirit, the effects of which are still operating on the continent), to induce us to hesitate before we adopt any speculative theories

of melioration in our internal government, a government which the experience of so many years has proved the most practically wise, and the best adapted to human nature, of any in the universe. By the removal of old habits, the mind becomes unoccupied, and is left open to the intrusion of new ones, often more dangerous, always doubtful, precarious, and, for some time, incapable of producing that uniformity of action which is so necessary in times of difficulty. Under these impressions, and recollecting also the characters and talents (the word is employed without invidiousness) of the persons who brought the measures forward, we cannot but testify our great surprise at some late attempts at change, which appear to have been made without due consideration of the consequences. The agitation of the catholic question, when Christianity itself is threatened; the change in the Scottish laws, when the great mass of British liberty is at stake; the abolition of the slave trade, when the whole commerce of the country is in danger, seem to be measures, the consideration of which might have been postponed, at least, if for no other reason, yet for this, that it must create differences when every thing required union; and must occupy a considerable portion of the time and faculties of which the defence of the country, and the discomfiture of its inveterate

enemy, were objects sufficient to require and to engross the whole.

But if these speculations had been employed on our internal government alone, their consequences would have been easier prevented, for they were so manifest, that the good sense of the nation was equal to perceive, and defeat them. They have extended, however, beyond the limits of the realm, and towards the most valuable of all our foreign possessions, to that country which Buonaparte, and *fas est ab hoste doceri*, justly considers as the great support of our strength and independence, and the reduction of which he views as the first step towards the accomplishment of our ruin. Need I say that I allude to British India, or to the design adopted, and, apparently, acted upon, of converting the natives to Christianity; nay, of *coercing* the contemptuous spirit,* as Mr. Buchanan denominates the religion of one description of our Indian subjects.

* The context certainly implies this sense. Mr. Buchanan speaks of the contempt with which the Mahomedans treat the Christians, and justly ascribes it to the intolerant nature of their religion. If converted to Christianity, this contempt would vanish; but it is not possible, at all events, he thinks it not possible, to coerce this spirit, without converting them; nor can they be converted without coercion. I know

To say the least of this attempt, its success is dubious. Admitting, what its advocates hope, that it *may* be accomplished, yet its progress must be slow, and the event remote. In the mean while differences will exist, and, from these differences, great disorders must be ex-

Mr. Buchanan personally ; I have a high reverence for his motives, and a high opinion of his heart and head ; nothing but the same sense of duty which urges him to propose the measure, urges me to resist it. I trust we may differ in opinion upon the *policy* of attempting a hazardous measure, without being supposed to have *any* difference as to the beneficial results which might arise if its accomplishment were certain. He may think we are called upon at *all* risks to make the attempt ; I certainly think otherwise. Our first *social duty* is obedience to the powers that be ; but any measure that may endanger the existence of these powers, is in opposition to that duty, and although we could produce examples of success in converting by power, in other than the Mahomedan religion, still, the obligation to attempt it is only a matter of comparative calculation, unless, indeed, we consider the precept to the apostles — “ *Go ye, and teach all nations,*” as decisive on this subject. But to do this, the adaption of means to the end (an adaption peculiar to our Saviour), implies that we should have those powers which were bestowed upon the apostles. — The missionaries have them not — are sectaries likely to have them ? They certainly pretend to the possession. This pretence forms the ground of their extemporaneous flights, and the justice on which it is founded may be allowed as a sufficient test of the credence to which they are entitled in other matters.

pected to arise. To effect a change in the religious notions of sixty millions of people, whose manners, customs, laws, and language, we know to have been the same for above two thousand years, cannot be either an easy, a speedy, or a safe work.

The reverence of ancestry, the local attachments of habit, the pride of rank, the interest of a priesthood, the abstract nature of the religion of this people, their pious and strict discharge of religious duties, and our *apparent* neglect of any, joined to doubt of our motives, and repugnance to all social intercourse, will be formidable difficulties in the way of conversion, and will induce them to view the attempt with suspicion, if not reject it with abhorrence. But to coerce them into Christianity — I cannot suppose the idea was ever seriously entertained — for how is it to be done? — By force of arms? Our native troops would desert our colours. — By civil authority? Our native officers would refuse to obey it. The natives of India have borne, from their Pitan and Tartar conquerors, every species of civil tyranny; but the sword of Mahomet, keen as was its edge, and strong the arm that wielded it, made no impression on the religion of Brama; and the day on which its votaries are seriously convinced that we have formed a design against their faith, or

that we even intend to interfere therewith, will, I am convinced, be the first day of real danger to the security of our Asiatic possessions.

It is, indeed, a question of such magnitude, that its *discussion*, even, is dangerous ; and though there may be reason to imagine, from the connection of some persons high in the administration of India, with a society whose motives we may applaud without approving all their actions, that the attempt to create a revolution in the religion of Hindostan is meditated as an act of the Indian government, yet it seems, for many reasons, advisable, that as the alarm has been given, the danger of the measure should be left to silent operation on the minds of its advocates, and that no public steps should be taken to record either the suspicion, or the actual entertainment, of the intention. Any thing in the nature of public discussion, will lead either to the avowal of the design, or to its disavowal : the latter is needless, and, indeed, improper ; the former must reach India, and may there produce such an impression as will make the natives believe themselves absolved from their allegiance, and called upon to resist us with all their power, and in the name of their God.

I shall not dwell upon those circumstances

which almost confirm the notion of a design to convert the natives of India, but I shall endeavour to consider the measure as an abstract question, altogether free of any party or religious prejudices. That it is a question of the highest importance no one can deny. All must admit how desirable it would be to diffuse the blessings of a pure faith, and divine morality, among those who are overspread with ignorant and gross superstitions; but those who are *most* anxious for the measure would, I am sure, give it up, if convinced that it could not be effected without plunging the country into confusion, and endangering the very existence of our Indian empire.

To the motives that have animated the advocates for converting the people of Hindostan, I must offer my humble and unqualified assent, for the unrivalled excellence of our religion may justly make us anxious to extend its blessings to all mankind. But it is not because they consider the superstitions of Mahomet, or Brama, as well calculated to effect the present and future happiness of the people, that those persons who think it unadvisable to take active measures in converting the natives, deprecate the attempt, but because they are convinced that it is an imprac-

licable work, and one that will be productive of incalculable danger. This opinion they found on the well-known characters of the Hindus and Mahometans of India; and the dispute, instead of being whether it is advisable to *convert* the natives, is, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it would be prudent *to make the attempt*.

Born in a Christian country, and educated in the principles of the Christian faith, it would ill become the writer, and is far from his design, to resist any endeavours to propagate Christianity, where those endeavours are not likely to excite dangerous commotions. Nay, he thinks that it would be high and impious presumption to dissuade the *attempt*, unless upon strong and unanswerable grounds of public safety: that those who propose the measure are not called upon to prove it advisable; but that those who resist it are to shew that they resist upon just and sufficient grounds. They must prove that success is not only uncertain, but impossible; and that the attempt will not only encounter violent opposition, but will produce consequences of the most alarming kind. If this is done, the attempt will, I am persuaded, be relinquished by many of those who are now its greatest advocates, for I believe they have nothing more at heart than the

happiness of the natives of India, and the prosperity of Great Britain.*

The question, therefore, is not whether it would be of advantage to the natives of India to become Christians ; for upon this there can be no manner of doubt. Neither is it whether it is our duty to endeavour to convert them ; for here, also, the obligation is clear. But it is rather, whether the natives of India can be converted by human efforts, and whether it is our duty to make these efforts, regardless of any national consequences that may ensue. There are many things very desirable, which are not at all practicable ; many events which would in themselves be highly beneficial, though the means of attaining them are dangerous, and their successful employment extremely doubtful. In such cases the chances

* By these advocates I certainly mean a different description of persons from the members of the two Missionary Societies, who have lately set themselves up as the standard of religious orthodoxy, and the models of moral conduct. Those who attack all existing regulations, and propose their own crudities as the perfection of reason and faith, can have no considerable affection for the public good. They are cast in too large a mould ; and what was said of the difference between the owl and the woodcock, may be here applied to them, " They are *Fuller* in the head, *Fuller* in the body, *Fuller* every where."

are carefully compared. If ninety-nine ships in a hundred effect a safe passage to a good market, there is a sufficient motive to undertake the voyage; but if one ship only is fortunate, and ninety-nine perish, we must consider that man as mad who would embark his wealth and person on such an adventure.

Now it is, doubtless, very desirable that the Hindus and Mahomedans should be converted to Christianity; and great, indeed, would be the merit of those who effected this conversion. It is desirable in as much as it must increase their present happiness, and afford them reasonable hopes of future enjoyment, motives by which our civil, as well as religious obligations require us to be influenced, for it is the bounden duty of every government to provide, in the best way it can, for the security and prosperity of those under its charge, and to avoid every measure which can endanger their permanency. But the British government of India, say people, who know little about the subject, what they may, is already the highest blessing to the natives of that country. They have been preserved thereby for above fifty years from hostile invasion, an unexampled occurrence in their history; and they have been permitted the safe enjoyment and free disposal of their property, a privilege

never possessed by their ancestors under any other government. While our administration is, on the one hand, productive of such advantages to the natives, our Indian possessions are, on the other, of the greatest importance to this country. They afford it a very considerable portion of the wealth, and educate a large proportion of the seamen, by which it is enabled to preserve its independence, and successfully to struggle against its enemies. We are, therefore, called upon by every inducement of national interest, and of duty to those who derive benefit from our protection, to continue to afford it, and to afford it in such manner as may be attended with the least hazard to its security. This is a consideration which we should never lose sight of.

Now, the history of every country produces unquestionable proof that the greatest danger has always attended an attempt to interfere with its religion. In civilized Europe, where every science and art is carried to such a height, and where the text, from whence all deduce their religious opinions, is the same, and is open to all, we observe, unfortunately, that though all profess Christianity, they are divided into numberless sects, each of which considers its own interpretation as the only standard of pure faith. Though

these sects agree in the principal articles of belief, and differ in such only as strangers might consider of no material consequence, yet we find that neither persecutions nor rewards have been able to reconcile them to each other, and that martyrdom has been cheerfully encountered in the defence of their respective tenets. How many have been the lives sacrificed for believing too much, or too little, or for believing differently from those who possessed the power of punishing ! Force and argument have been equally unsuccessful in bringing people to one mind ; and the several governments of Europe have been reduced to the ultimate necessity of tolerating persuasions different from their own, and of permitting modes of worship in direct opposition thereto. If, then, the endeavour to reconcile opposing systems has failed where the parties were agreed upon in the principal articles of their belief ; if governments have been unable to bring the several subjects of a state to the right way of thinking, for there can be but one right way, and if the attempt has led to rebellion, to the subversion of the establishment, and to the loss of whole provinces for ever — what may we not justly apprehend from an endeavour to force the natives of India to the adoption of a religion so different, in every respect, from their own, and so contrary to all their prejudices and established habits ? If it is dan-

gerous to admit the Catholic to a participation of power, and impracticable to reduce the articles of his creed, though he will eat and associate with us, and is guided by the same customs of civil life — what are we to effect with the Hindu, who, like Shylock, will not eat with us, will not drink with us, much less pray with us; whom we offend daily by killing the animal he holds most sacred, and by eating of the bodies into which the souls of his progenitors have transmigrated?

Christianity seems always to have despised the efforts of power, and to have owed its propagation to other than human means. Nothing can prove this more effectually than its history. Springing in a country and among people the most despised, it over-ran the Roman empire in spite of contempt and persecution. It was communicated by conquered Italy to the barbarians who subdued it, by the suffering Britons to their Saxon invaders. Previous to it becoming the religion of the state, its professors and its martyrs were spread through every province of the Roman empire. But its diffusion was checked from the moment it was supported by temporal authority. The still small voice, which called nations to profess the faith of Jesus, was heard no longer; and human means, efficient as they might be supposed to be, were

unable to attract or to impel a single votary ; but, on the contrary, zeal diminished and Christianity declined ; disputes about modes of faith took place of religious duties, and the cure of heresy became as desperate an undertaking as the conversion of paganism.

The Christian religion had been but a very little time the established religion of the Roman empire, before the Christian bishops began to dispute on what Christianity consisted in. Several involved themselves in heresies which excited serious commotions, and required the exercise of temporal authority to suppress them. The human imagination, ever restless, appears to have encouraged new interpretations of scripture, and to have endeavoured at a novel system, which should blend the simplicity of the faith of Jesus with the mysterious visions of Plato, and with the grosser accompaniments of paganism. The churches of Egypt and Africa were particularly tainted ; and those of Rome and Constantinople, the churches of the Latin and the Greek world, separated on the insertion of a particle in their creed. These evils are not, however, consequences arising from Christianity itself, whose every precept breathes peace and good will to mankind, but they are the effect

produced by those zealous professors who would confine the mercy of heaven to those only who think on every matter in precisely the same terms with themselves, and who deny virtue, faith, or knowledge to any others. What are we to expect from them, when one is of Paul, another of Apollos, and when none are endowed with the powers, though they all assume the manner, of the apostles?

When the discoveries of Columbus and Gama opened new worlds to the enterprize of Portugal and Spain, the anxious bigotry of those governments urged the conversion of the natives of America and India. Mexico, Cuba, Peru, were easily conquered by the latter power; the coast of Malabar displayed the flags, and acknowledged the authority of the former. But the tyranny which could depeople Cuba, and occasion the death of millions — unmurmuring millions — was unable to eradicate the ignorant superstitions of the Americans; and the bishops of Portugal alienated by their missionaries, those countries which her generals had subdued by their arms. Titles without territory, and sees without a flock, are all that remain of an empire which, at one time, promised to extend itself over the peninsula of India.

While these things were carrying on under the protection of the governments of Spain and Portugal, a religious society, distinguished for its zeal and learning, was exerting its best efforts to establish Christianity in Asia, and to extend the Catholic faith in Europe. But, although the massacre of St. Bartholomew disposed of 70,000 of the first protestants of France; though the persecutions of Philip nearly unpeopled the low countries; though the priests carried pardon, favour, and rewards in one hand, and fire, sword, and vengeance in the other; yet they reclaimed no apostates from their church, but found that, though they were supported by the civil and military authority of a powerful monarch, their endeavours to extinguish the protestant faith deluged France with blood for above half a century, and gave to the states of Holland, in a motive for resistance, the means of shaking off the domination of Spain, and of becoming a free and an independent people.

The skill and science of the Jesuits likewise obtained for their missionaries a ready admission into the kingdoms of China and Japan. They taught medicine, astronomy, and mechanics; they had many pupils, and were highly respected. But the instruction of the people in these useful

arts of present use was not their chief design. They sought to instruct them in the higher science of immortality. The government of the country, strictly allied to its religion, took alarm at what threatened the stability of the latter; and the measures which it adopted in consequence, have been acted upon with such rigour, that no European can enter into the interior of either country.

Much of the ill success of the missionaries in China sprung from the differences between the Jesuits and Jansenists, rivals in the important labour of heathen conversion. They exerted mutual efforts to asperse the motives and oppose the doctrines of each other, and deemed it of less consequence to make the Chinese Christians, than to make them orthodox.

When the body of the English nation quitted the doctrines of the Roman church, and the Spanish influence, aiding the blind bigotry of the first Mary, was employed in restoring the authority of the pope, though the matter in question was only the acknowledgment of a few articles of faith and the supremacy of the pontiff, yet we know that many mild and virtuous characters preferred death to that acknowledgment. Belief

could not be forced or regulated in its degrees, and conscience forbade the appearance without the reality of assent. Reason and disputation offered their assistance. Both parties met and argued the points at issue; and, according to custom, each party continued to believe its own arguments irresistible, and departed without either convincing or being convinced.

The protestant faith has been, for above two hundred years, the established faith of these realms: yet Ireland, at this day, exhibits a majority of Catholics, whom neither threats, promises, reasoning, nor interest, can influence to deduct one tittle from their creed. While the Catholics refuse to join us because we believe too little, there are others who have separated from us because we believe too much. Both parties, Dissenters as well as Catholics, refuse their assent to the first principle of civil government, the power invested in the persons who direct that government, to make laws for the external regulations of its religious establishment; and although this dissent strikes at the very basis of safe government, it has been deemed advisable to tolerate it. For rebellion has more than once raised its banners in defence of religious opinions, and one of our kings has lost his life, and another

his crown, for interfering, or appearing to interfere, with them.*

Yet, in the instances of religious interference above related, whether by our kings at home, or by the Jesuits on the continent of Europe, the attempt was not to introduce a strange worship among a strange people. Both parties already acknowledged the same God, and the same Divine Saviour of mankind. Both revered the Church, and both derived, or seemed to derive, their faith from the same source, the Bible. The difference, then, was, in fact, but a difference of opinion as to the construction of that book; a difference which, though it involved matters of high moment in the Christian faith, and led to the greatest consequences in political society, appeared so simple that it might have been rea-

* Since the above was written, Mr. Fox's posthumous work has been published. That celebrated man confirms what is here said of the cause of the revolution, for he states (p. 80), that the people were ready to submit to any degree of civil oppression, but that their dread of popery made them violent against indulging the Catholics. Did Mr. Fox, who was all his life an advocate for such indulgence, hope that it would produce a similar effect: did he expect another revolution, and imagine that he should have been one of those who should *ride on the tempest and direct the storm*?

sonably expected to have given way to calm and liberal discussion. But the contrary has been notoriously the fact: discussion has even widened the breach of separation, and the weakness of human pride has generally clouded the light of truth.

Thus foiled in our endeavours to obtain uniformity of religious opinions in these realms, and certain that only one opinion can be correct, it becomes necessary, in attempting to extend Christianity, to be careful that we diffuse not an erroneous belief, or any tenets contending with each other, lest the first impressions of the desired convert should be hostile to a system of which the developement is obscure, and the detail uncertain. If, therefore, unappalled by the example of fruitless efforts—examples afforded with such fatal consequences in Malabar, South America, and the vast empire of China—we still persist to send missionaries among our subjects in the East, and to support them with the countenance of high names in church as well as state, let us select such as the church acknowledges—such as have subscribed to the articles, and have received ordination from an English bishop—but let us never sanction them in making an invidious distinction between an evangelical clergyman, a term which they apply to the favourers of their

measures, and a clergyman of the established church, the term by which they designate the regular parish priest.

This seems the evident intention of some of the missionary advocates. Yet may it not be asked where they derive authority for such an application of language, and such arrogance of presumption? Is it from their learning, or their private characters, or their strict obedience to the laws of the land? Inconsiderate, but well-meant zeal, has encouraged their proceedings where they ought to have been suppressed. The rage of puritanism is not expired: the embers of persecution against the better part of society are carefully fanned under the profession of the meekest piety and the purest patriotism. But the cloven foot betrays itself—the characters on the wall want no Daniel to decipher them. The sectaries court the friends of the church to aid in its oppression. But is it to be endured that these men shall have the sanction of the religious societies of the establishment to their determination of the purity of its ministers, and for resting this purity on the intimacy between these ministers and themselves? Perhaps this might not have happened, if every clergyman in the India service were, like Mr. Buchanan, a *scholar*, a *member of an university*, and a *priest*. Methodists

and Baptists may be very good men, but have we not an establishment in church as well as state? Is it not an integral part of the constitution? Is it worth preserving or not? Are we wise in trusting its preservation to those who profess themselves its foes?

But shall we, after all, proceed in this attempt at conversion? Have we any encouragement from experience of the past, or from analogy of the present, to proceed in it? Hitherto it has had no success. Although there have been missionaries in India for above a hundred years, they have not made any converts of consequence, nor converted as many families as their own number has amounted to. The outcasts have indeed joined them, and have appeared as of their faith; but the conduct of these outcasts has generally proved that they professed what they did not feel, and has considerably influenced the higher orders in their prejudices against Christianity. The zeal of diffusing their doctrine has frequently induced the missionaries to receive unworthy members into their societies, and to be content with the simple avowal of conversion, without any reform of habits. But is the attempt at conversion in reality a duty more imperious than any other, and one that we must execute though it may lead to the dissolution of our government, and inflict sure

destruction to the happiness of this country and all that depend upon it? Shall we, for the precarious chance of converting a few Hindus, plunge Hindustan in rebellion, and occasion the massacre of every Englishman who resides there? Is the work likely to succeed? or is it not, rather, one that we might wish, indeed, to accomplish, but one so full of danger, and so improbable of success, that we must content ourselves with throwing no obstacles in its way, and with leaving the rest to the good will of God, and to the slow influence of our example?

We have but one English church in Calcutta; there is not one in the interior of Bengal or its dependent provinces. European regiments have indeed their chaplains, and a part of the barracks at every station is appropriated as a chapel; but the officers of native regiments not quartered at the principal stations of the army, *and the whole of the Company's civil servants throughout India*, those only excepted who reside at the presidency, are deprived of every chance of hearing the word of God read and explained to them. Their children cannot be christened. The ceremonies of marriage and burial are performed by the civil magistrate. They have no place of public worship to assemble in to make their united adoration to their

God. Those who pay respect to Sunday, read the scriptures to their own families, and many are regular in family prayers; but the want of some public and united worship, leaves upon the minds of the natives an impression that the English have, indeed, honour, generosity, and high character, but that they are the most *irreligious of mankind*. Now, I would submit it even to the warm favourers of the missionaries, whether it would not be proper to provide for the religious instruction and comfort of those who are already Christians, before we endeavour to increase the number of Christians? Might not one clergyman, at least, of the church of England, be stationed in each district through the provinces? Would not the example of their lives, and the pure grandeur of their religious worship, be likely to attract, slowly, but surely, the attention, and consequent conversion of the Hindus? Perhaps the expense of such an establishment, in the present state of the Company's finances, may be urged as an objection to the measure. But if it be a measure of duty, should the expense be considered as a sufficient objection? If it is admitted to be so, what shall we say to the economical favourers of the itinerant missionaries, whose measures are directed against the very sources of the wealth which they would economise? Surely the danger to be apprehended

from the imprudent zeal of these men is of much more consequence than a money charge of twelve lacks of rupees a year, the utmost expense of an ecclesiastical establishment for all British India.

Perhaps a slight view of the principal features in the character of our Indian subjects may lead us to consider what has been stated above as the most politic conduct, and as the only conduct which a due discharge of our civil and religious duties should induce us to adopt on the present occasion.

When Brama, under the shade of the banian tree, instructed his disciples in the duties of temperance, seclusion, and prayer, he intended as well to establish regulations for their personal welfare, as to found a faith which the powers of time should not destroy. Of climate, he knew the effects to be uniform and active. Where the labours of the ox were so needful on the road and in the field ; where the cow's milk, so useful to man, was in quantity so small, the preservation of these animals from the violence of passion, or the lust of appetite, became a measure of the greatest moment. He, therefore, prohibited the use of animal food, and enjoined religious honours to the cow. This worship existed at an early age in Egypt, I will not say it passed

there, and the Greeks afterwards wondered at the adoration of Apis, because they were ignorant of the cause which gave it birth.

To preserve the health of his votaries, Brama required frequent ablutions, and to secure their obedience he declared the Ganges a holy stream. To separate them from the rest of mankind, he forbade the attempt to make proselytes; to produce regularity in the discharge of their duties, he established the distinctions of cast. And, for the further security of his religion, he allowed no pleasures in its front to seduce the profession of strangers, and attached disgrace, more terrible than death, to the apostate from his faith. Self-denial, prayer, and pain self-inflicted, became, in the Hindu's mind, the surest passport to the favour of the Deity, and active virtue had as little merit with the Indian god, as active employment had charms with the Indian votary.

The earth yielded, almost spontaneously, what was necessary to subsistence: it was criminal in the Bramin to solicit more. The warmth of the climate rendered clothing easy; the plaintain, the mango, and the coacoa nut tree afforded shelter and food in such abundance that the duties of hospitality were seldom excited. It became the

Indian virtue to suffer, not to act; and to abstain from evil rather than to do good.

A turban, a girdle, and a pair of sandals, formed nearly the whole of a Hindu's wardrobe; a straw hut was a sufficient abode. The luxuriousness of fashion neither altered the form of their dress,* nor the structure of their houses, the furniture of which seldom exceeded a mat and a pillow, an earthen pot, and a cup of brass. The laws of abstinence so rigidly prescribed rendered these privations a duty, while the laws of safety rendered them wise. In a country where even the soil was the property of the prince, the appearance of wealth was an invitation to rapine: the tenure of occupation made it imprudent to build for the accommodation of the living, and the custom of burning the deceased removed every inducement to erect tombs in their honour, or to venerate particular spots as the depositaries of ancestry. General charity, and religious pageants, formed,

* Corpora usque pedes carboso velant; soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt; lapilli ex auribus pendent — Capillum pectunt scœpius quam tendent: vivos se cremari jubent quibus aut segnis ætas aut incommoda valetudo est: nullus corporibus quæ senectus solvit honos. — *Curtius, Lib. viii. C. ix.*

with the three great events of birth, marriage, and death, the chief calls on the wealth of a Hindu. To excavate tanks, to plant fruit trees, and to construct ghauts and pagodas, were the united objects of pride, patriotism, and devotion.

Forbidden to eat, or even to associate, with an inferior, though professing the same faith, the Hindu could have no intercourse with a stranger, and was thus cut off from the general knowledge of mankind. And, as he could not prepare his food without certain formalities which it was criminal to observe but on dry land, he was prevented from extending the boundaries of his commerce by sea. Maritime trade was left open to those only with whom religion forbade him to mix, and whom prejudice taught him to detest. The inland traffic of the rivers was, indeed, at his command, but the profession of merchandise was that of the lower orders of the state ; religion and war formed those of the highest, and the dread of pollution, with the consequent loss of cast, divided the same nation into several distinct societies.

While enterprize was thus discouraged, the land produced almost every thing the Hindu wanted. But as wealth could not be converted into permanent substance, the chief motive to

exertion lost its influence, and the indolence which the climate excited was increased by the abstemiousness which the law enjoined. Without an object to gratify, or a great stake to defend ; secure in the exercise of their religion, and in the bounties of a fertile soil ; ignorant of what formed the bliss of others, and unanxious to extend knowledge by inquiry, the people of India became hostile to effort and incapable of vigorous exertion. The sound of the trumpet, and the call of freedom, excited no enthusiasm among the worshippers of the sable goddess, and they fled dismayed at the approach of an enemy whom it was impossible to resist, and criminal to associate with.

As personal indolence was the great luxury of eastern life, so personal fatigue became the great punishment of religious infliction. The faith of Brama was formed to attract the eye of its votaries : particular days were celebrated with all the pomp of pageantry ; stated hours were fixed upon for ablution and prayers, and stated places as the peculiar objects of veneration which every pious individual must visit. Thus the acts of religion being public excited emulation in their performance, and the habits of private life being unsocial, prevented the growth of opposite opinions. When abroad they formed one family

adoring their God in one way, and closely united in their reverence for every ceremony in his worship ; more ready to submit themselves passively to slaughter than to neglect their duties : and only inflammable into rage when they observed an attempt to disturb the profession of a faith which had existed among them for ages unnumbered. At home the band of union, which was tied for the service of their God, became dissolved for themselves. The couch and the pipe, rest and personal gratification formed all that was desirable, and the domestic relations were considered more as acts of civil duty than as the obligations of nature and sentiment. The names of the Deity, his nature, attributes, and manifestations,; the consideration of abstract good, of time which unites the eternity of the past and future, and of space, which only measures a portion of infinitude ; the wonders, the wars, and the happiness of former times ; poetry, history, and metaphysics, formed the principal objects of *private* study. The ceremonies of marriage, birth, and death ; attachment to traditional customs ; observation of the ritual of devotion ; the rigid attention to cast ; aversion to flesh, and reverence for the cow, the Ganges, and certain plants as emblems of the goodness of the deity, were considered as the chief parts of their *external* attention, and as

duties more imperious than any of the social and moral virtues.

However pure the abstract theories of the bra-minical theology may be, it must be owned, even by its votaries, that they seldom produce a strict discharge of moral relations; and that ceremonies have more weight than virtues. Even in the punishment of offences, the influence of religion and the privileges of its ministers were more consulted than the good of the community. By the laws of Menu, almost every crime was expiable by fine or penance, proportioned more to the station of the offender than to the enormity of the offence. The higher ranks had the greatest liberties, and the punishment was always least where the means of discharging it were most ample.

As truth is the great support of private and public happiness, the punishment of perjury is one of the first objects of legislative enactment. But in the Hindu code, false witness by a Sooder, or Bice, is declared punishable with death when it is directed against the safety of a Bramin or a cow; but while so rigidly treated in these cases of prejudiced inviolability, in others it is reckoned meritorious; for any person is permitted, in the Hindu's opinion, to perjure himself in order to preserve his life or property, to effect the

marriage of a daughter, to gratify his lust on an unprotected female, and to save another's life in any instance of guilt unconnected with the murder of a cow or a Bramin.

The unfortunate and accidental touch of an unclean thing, the careless performance or the omission of a religious ceremony, the casual death of a cow at her stall, are crimes denounced with greater severity than rapine, defamation, rape, or murder. In no single instance is a Bramin to suffer death : as the casts diminish in rank, the punishment of their crimes increases ; as if the estimation of men in the world's eye should add to the merit of their virtues, or lessen the just abhorrence of their infamy.

Yet the traces of a pure theology, so evident in the religion of India, though mixed with a blind superstition, and a preference of external ceremonies, many of which are ridiculous, and some inhuman, to the moral virtues of the heart, have frequently excited the wonder of the observer. The great antiquity which these people claim ; the frequent communications with the Deity, and the several manifestations of himself in the flesh, which they record and believe, are matters that require the closest investigation of the Christian as well as of the philosopher. They present

a formidable obstacle to the diffusion of the religion of the former, which can only be overcome, if so, by analyzing the nature of Hindu superstition and by tracing its different stages : for until we can convince the Bramin that our system is the first in time, as well as the most perfect in precept, he will tell us that it is derived from his, and that the Veda is the source from whence the Christian faith has been drawn. Far from questioning the divine authority of the scriptures, or the divinity of Christ, he will say that we believe but a part of what he does, and that the Deity might have been once incarnate in Judea, as he had been often in India : that the Hindu scriptures, as they were carried out of their own country, were altered to the local usages of others, and accommodated to the political views of their professors ; and that, although we neglect ceremonies, and profess the influence of moral precept, our external conduct implies a total negligence of visible adoration and gratitude to God, and the superiority of honour to religion. If we urge him to throw away his idols, he will say that they are not objects of his worship, but remembrances of his duties. If we tax him with religious honours to animals and vegetables, he will answer that he considers their good qualities as emblems of the perfections of the Deity, but as nothing else. If we require him to cease

his ablutions and his sacrifices, he will say that God ordered prayer and abstinence ; that He required the offering of the first fruits as an acknowledgement of his bounty, and clean hands as the index of a pure heart : that the sacrifice is valuable in proportion to its consideration in the eye of the offerer, and therefore most acceptable when accompanied by the greatest effort : that in confession of the justice with which God punishes evil, we should inflict punishment on ourselves, and should make the body suffer for the impurities of the soul : that the earliest ages were those that had the most frequent intercourse with the Deity, and that, in the earliest ages, not only the first fruits of the earth, and the firstlings of the flock were offered to Him in sacrifice, but even the firstborn of human kind, a sure proof that it was not only acceptable to, but ordained by Him : that we urge the Hindu to forsake the religion of his ancestors for one which seems to have less influence on human conduct, and to be accompanied with fewer marks of reverence for the Deity : that we would substitute belief for conduct, and obey a visionary sentiment at the expence of conscience. He will add, that although we express our firm belief in ten commandments derived from heaven, and written by the Deity himself, we acknowledge other gods than him, worship worldly opinion,

adore the image of honour; that we call God to witness indecent levities and absolute crimes; that we neglect all reverence of the day set apart for his worship, quit the protection of those parents whom we are bound to honour, provoke into the field, and murder in open day, the friend with whom we may dispute, live in shameless and undisguised adultery, and extend our wishes and our arms over the property, and even over the opinions, of nations who, by giving us the indulgence, of a port, have afforded us the means of an empire.

It is true that we may reply that we acknowledge with shame the inferiority of our conduct to our creed; that the one, being directed by heaven, is pure and right; but the other, assailed by the frailties of human nature, is imperfect and erring: that we urge him not to follow our example, but to adopt our belief: that we are required of heaven to be actively virtuous, and to imitate the perfections of the divine nature, in promoting the innocent happiness of all mankind: that the knowledge and practice of social duty are among the first objects of our care: that injury to our fellow creatures, who are all equal in the eye of heaven, is a real crime, and the extent of that injury, the just measure of our offence: that the dignity of the offending person, as it occasions no difference in the effect of the

transgression, should occasion none in its punishment: that as knowledge should improve the conduct as well as the understanding, he who has the best means of obtaining it is least justifiable in transgression: that there are *real* distinctions between the forms of ceremony and rules of conduct; and that to take away from human calamity and to add to the small stock essential to human happiness, is an act of more value in the eye of the God of mankind, than all the ceremonies and ablutions, and the sacrifices, and the self-inflicted pain, that ingenuity can imagine, or enthusiasm inflict.

Could we find in the Hindu a liberal mind impartially devoted to the search of truth, much might be done: could we eradicate the selfish system of his belief, his invincible contempt of what is foreign, and his abhorrence of intercourse beyond the pale of cast, we might do more. But any attempt to effect this measure, by means of missionaries, will not fail to excite the jealousy of the people, and to defeat the intention.

The residence of any persons in that country, where every man has public duties to discharge, with no other ostensible business than the propagation of Christianity, which they are not allowed to preach in a Christian church, will create

alarm, prejudice, and distrust. If they persuade an individual, they will enrage a whole town, and the individual will be lost to the privileges of his birth, and to the enjoyment of all advantages which habit has rendered essential to native happiness. No European is observed in India without political employ or private occupation. The missionary, how is he to be considered? If as a political character, the whole country will be in arms; if as a private individual, his means of living will be investigated; and, if it is found that he derives no income from preaching, some hidden and dangerous motive will be attributed to his supporters; if he derives it from those he converts, the whole body of Bramins will be doubly inflamed against him.

In the discharge of his duty of conversion, he must meet with some dangers, and be the unwilling cause of many commotions. How are these to be settled? The civil magistrates will be called upon either to punish their countrymen for teaching their own religion, or to punish the native for resisting the ruin of his hereditary faith and customs. The consequence is too clear not to be foreseen, and too dangerous to be hazarded. And if the tacit permission of government be afforded to the missionaries, it is a matter of high consideration how far it may be implicated by the natives

in all the acts of the missionaries, whose zeal has sometimes carried them far beyond the bounds of prudence and of policy. The motives of some of them are unquestionably good, and their main object there are none who would not wish to promote, if it could be promoted without absolute danger to the state, or with the slightest prospect of ultimate success.

The repugnant habits of the Hindu in private life, render it impossible for a stranger to his faith, or an inferior in cast, to associate with him, and thus close one avenue by which instruction might be freely conveyed. The seclusion of the female sex from the eye and converse of mankind, is another obstacle of no less magnitude. The English missionary cannot have access either to the tables of the men, or to the apartments of the women. He must harangue them in the streets, or on the roads, when they are prosecuting their business, and have no leisure to attend; or during the celebration of their festivals, where numbers, example, and the intoxication of the ceremony, will harm every hand, and shut every ear, against him.

It was not without the miraculous interference of the Deity, nor without miraculous power in the first preachers, that the conversion of the

Jews and Gentiles was accomplished, though the first preachers had not to contend with such superstitious, or with such excluding prejudices, as those of the Hindus. They had to preach to *one* people, from a book already in their hands ; to accompany the reading of prophecies; long admitted, with the disclosure of the events by which they were then accomplished, and to support that disclosure by the proof of miracles. When they passed among the heathen, they instructed *another* people, who were ready to admit the gods of other countries among their own, and to court the favour of any strange deity introduced to their knowledge ; a people whom philosophy had divested of prejudice, and had enabled to judge of different systems by the credibility of evidence, and the weight of reason. Yet slow, difficult, and dangerous was the propagation of the faith under these circumstances, so much more favourable than any which can be expected to attend it in India.

In India, we know the extent of ignorance to exceed that of superstition. The minds of the people are hardened against religious instruction from other than their own teachers ; and they are so totally unacquainted with science and reasoning, as to be incapable of applying comparisons, or of deducing inductions. While they afford

such a contrast to the Jew and the Gentile, their preachers may, without offence, be considered as like the disciples of Christ in every thing but the most important of all, in the power of working miracles. Much as the missionaries pretend to, and perhaps believe, the inspiration of unpremeditated discourse, yet may they, without impiety, doubt its single virtues. The miracle of feeding the multitude made more converts than the divine sermon of our Saviour. St. Paul, the model of nervous inspiration, shook by his eloquence, but did not convince by it. His preaching was accompanied by works beyond the power of man. It was to these that he and the other apostles appealed for the truth of their mission, and not to the reasonableness of their doctrines, or the eloquence of their address. But if works were *then* necessary among a people so much superior to the Hindus, there appears little ground to expect success in the present instance, where the means of judging are fewer, where prejudice is more powerful, and where the preacher cannot appeal to any authority which equally commands his own and his hearers' respect.

But, in the making of the attempt, if nothing beyond its failure were to ensue, much as we might lament this failure, the bare possibility of

success should encourage the experiment; the more especially, among those persons who, to the benefits which all acknowledge Christianity to convey to mankind, add their conviction of the absolute duty imposed upon them to send out *to teach and to baptize all nations*, even though their missionaries are not gifted with those powers which were so largely bestowed upon the apostles, and which were, therefore, so necessary to the accomplishment of the work allotted them by Heaven.* If it were but an experiment free of any dangerous consequences, no one would, I am sure, resist the attempt, or refuse the praise justly due to those who made it. But where the experience of this country for above fifty years, and of the Mahomedans for five hundred, proves that an attempt to interfere with a single custom or prejudice of the Hindus is most dangerous, and alarms the whole nation for the safety of a religion which they believe the best; what are we not to expect of opposition and fury, when we avow the express design of eradicating that religion itself, and of abolishing those

* For, if miracles were not necessary, we must charge the Deity with needless display of his power, which would be gross impiety. And if, as their existence proves them, they were necessary, what is there to render them less so, where the difficulties to overcome are greater?

ceremonies which a long series of years has preserved inviolate ; which the instruction of the priests, the only instruction that can reach a Hindu's ears, requires him to maintain at the risk of his life ; and which, if even involuntarily neglected in a single precept, procure his willing performance of penances that would shock the finer nerves of European habits ?

When we have read, and I may say, when we have seen, the dreadful spectacles afforded by these people, some suspending in air by a hook fastened through the muscles of the back ; some reclining for years on a bed of spikes ; some measuring their lengths from Benares to Jaggernaut ;* some, in performance of a vow, letting their nails grow out through the back of their hand ; some, with their hands uplifted in one posture until their muscles refuse to act, and others cutting their flesh with sharp instruments — we must equally lament the obstinacy which refuses instruction, and the error of the superstition which requires it. But when we again consider the attempt,

* About eight years ago I met a person in the hilly district of Cumeckpore performing this very penance. He had then been three years from home. His only crime consisted in tying a cow carelessly, and thereby occasioning her suffocation during the night.

and that the duty of making it rests on the chance of its success unaccompanied by public calamity; when we reflect that it is likely to kindle India into flames, to increase and perpetuate the rage of Braminism, and by expelling us from that country, not only to deprive our own of the benefits of its empire there, but India itself of the present benefits of our protection, and the future benefits of our faith, which Providence, when we least expect it, may enable us to extend; when we reflect, also, that in this country, none but its government have a right to interfere with religious notions, and that people will *adopt* opinions more readily than they will *receive* them, it will well become us to pause before we proceed to commit the national character in a work of such imminent peril, or to encourage individuals of every religious sect in a work which the executive government and its spiritual advisers have not, under a consideration of all circumstances, deemed it either safe or advisable to undertake.

In England it is thought, and wisely thought expedient, that none but the ministers of its ecclesiastical establishment should preach in its churches; but that, as opinions vary, and conscience cannot be forced, other sects who profess the leading articles of our faith, and acknowledge the authority of our king, should be permitted to

worship God in their own way. As members of the established church, and as lovers of truth, we cannot wish success to the sectaries in disseminating their opinions, for we justly hold them wrong. As good subjects we cannot permit the attempt where it is likely to occasion disorder; nor can we, from the author of our faith, draw a single precedent for interfering, even on the grounds of religion, with the peace and government of the country. The duty of holding to the faith we profess, and of dying in its avowal, is extremely different from that of attempting to introduce a new faith. The latter measure is only justifiable where its consequences are safe, and only incumbent where its success is likely. If the success were likely, and the consequences safe, would not the established church have made the attempt in India? Would not the government, well convinced of the beneficial influence of Christianity over the morals and allegiance of a people, have already encouraged it? Did our bishops consider the propagation of Christianity an indispensable obligation *per se*, would they have neglected it? I cannot think so. If, then, they have neglected it, their neglect must have arisen from conviction that, important as the object is, it cannot be effected or attempted without danger to the two countries. To think otherwise, would be to slander them most unde-

servedly. But with this impression on their minds, can our bishops encourage sectaries, to whom they justly refuse permission to preach in their churches, to attempt the work of Hindu conversion under circumstances of greater public hazard, and at the same time, with the certainty of communicating opinions not only false, but inimical to the British government, in as much as they are contrary to those of the British church ?

I commend the zeal and motives of the different societies for promoting Christian knowledge throughout the world. These societies consist of some members of the church, and of some sectaries, who, while they seem to press no more than the diffusion of Christianity, are most earnest in disgracing and subverting the establishment. They ascribe to the lukewarmness of the church that it sends out no missions for the conversion of the heathen. Candour may supply another reason. The parish priest has his duties to perform at home ; no man can be ordained a clergyman without a cure, and our church establishment does not consider itinerancy as a cure. Hence the sectaries get their members brought forward as the missionaries to be employed in the accomplishment of the views of the society, and arrogate all

the merit of zeal in the undertaking. They seek the shelter of the church, that they may undermine it. The natural consequence is clear — the sectarian missionaries will preach against the establishment. But being of the number of those who reverence it, I cannot but consider it incumbent on our government, as long as they deem it necessary to continue restraints on Catholics and Dissenters, to provide that their number shall not be increased with their consent. If the governments of other countries admit the missionaries of different sects among them, it is not for us to complain of the act, for they are independent; nor to imitate it, for we are so ourselves. But if we think that, in any country under the administration of our government, there exist circumstances which would render the preaching of the missionaries dangerous, and which, if they succeeded in their efforts, would increase the number of dissenters from our church, it is a duty due to God, as well as to man, to prevent the occurrence of such an event.

What, then, are we to do? Are we to take no measures to communicate the divine lights of Christianity to the darkened natives of India, and to compensate by the gift, the many oppressions which they have suffered from Europeans? I

know not, though Doctor Barrow may, * *the many oppressions which we have brought upon India*, but I know that, while under our government, it has been free from invasion ; that equal laws have been established ; and that the natives acknowledge that private property, innocent freedom, and public happiness, were never so much consulted by any former government, nor so fully enjoyed by any former people. This opinion, on their part, forms the great support of our empire over them. Raised by our arms, it rests on the confidence of the people, and will continue firm as long as we treat them with justice, kindness, and compassion. But if, indeed, the Europeans have oppressed India, is this likely to recommend the religion of the Europeans ; or is it meant that we shall introduce Christianity among them, that they may be thereby enabled to retaliate the oppressions of Christians, and to drive their invaders and enlighteners from their shores ? It has been too long the fashion to speak on this subject with a prejudice very unworthy of men of liberal sentiments. Is the British character that of oppression ; or is it likely that those British subjects

* *Vide*, A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on the 7th of November, 1807.

who go out to India, and they are generally of family and education, to risk their health and lives in promoting as well the prosperity of the British empire, as the honest acquirement of personal property, should so far forget their duties, and their knowledge, as to become tyrants and oppressors, when neither is needful to the support of their authority or interest? Such sentiments may be expected from men of party views, who make a point of bringing down every thing respectable to the low level of their own ideas, and are anxious to rail at the exercise of power, which, happily for their country, has not been passed into their hands. But such sentiments were not to be expected from a clergyman of the church of England, and an enlightened member of the first university in the world.

The Bible society have disclaimed the idea of encouraging the conversion of the natives of India, and say that they have gone no farther than to encourage the circulation of the Scriptures. When I observe among them such highly respectable names, I cannot but applaud their views, as I have already stated. But it appears from their proceedings that the Scriptures are to be circulated chiefly through the influence of the sectarian missionaries, and of the *evangelical* clergymen of the established church, the term *evangelical*

being applied to these clergymen only who co-operate with the missionaries in the great object of conversion. It is nearly the same thing to supply arms as to use them against us. If the missionaries are likely to wield them to the injury of the established religion of the country, the Bible society should not encourage them. An ample field is elsewhere open to their pious endeavours. The circle of duty is always strongest the nearer it is to its centre, and there are many *Christians* in this country who cannot procure the Scriptures. Should they not be diffused among those who know their value, and who will prize their possession, before they are forced among a people who have much yet to learn before they can do either? Gifts of this nature are generally received with suspicion, and are supposed to originate in some latent motive of private and party interest. But the connection is a dangerous one between persons who go out of England in contempt of its laws, and land in India in defiance of its government, and a people whom they represent as labouring under the aggravated evils of tyranny and superstition. Mahomedans do not more thoroughly hate the Christians, than the sectaries do the English church. The conduct of their missionaries from them should, therefore, not only be watched, but restrained. If the measure of attempting

conversion in India be advisable, it should originate with the heads of our church, and be carried on by members of its establishment. Our bishops must be criminal, if they deem this attempt a duty, and if they neglect to make it ; and if they think it is not advisable, equally criminal must they be in permitting others to do what they will not do themselves. At all events they should not allow the missionaries of different sects to record among the proceedings of any society friendly to the established church, and the Bible Society considers itself as such, their opinions of the evangelism of its clergy : still less to superintend and direct the progress of Christian education, and the translation of the Christian Scriptures, under the patronage of any government in the British empire.

To the Bible and missionary societies, to all those who have the conversion of India so much at heart, and who would spare none but dangerous means of attempting it, I beg leave to recommend the following extract from the works of Sir William Jones, whose merits as a Christian, and whose acquaintance with the languages of India, and the manners, laws, and customs of its natives, have been so eloquently and so justly displayed by the noble president of one of those

societies.* — “ We may assure ourselves that
 “ neither Mussulmans nor Hindus will ever be
 “ converted by missions from the church of Rome,
 “ or from any other church ; and the only human
 “ method, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution,
 “ will be to translate into Sanscrit and Persian
 “ such chapters of the prophets, particularly
 “ of Isaiah, as are indisputably evangelical, together
 “ with one of the gospels, and a plain
 “ prefatory discourse, containing full evidence of
 “ the very distant ages in which the predictions
 “ themselves, and the history of the divine person
 “ son predicted, were severally made public, and
 “ then *quietly* to disperse them among the well-
 “ educated natives.”

Thus far it would be safe and commendable to go. But the *quiet* dispersion among *well-educated* natives is not to be the work of missionary sectaries, of whose education and manners some doubts may be entertained ; neither is the translation by those persons a likely mode of ensuring circulation or collateral authority. We have among the servants of the Company men of high literary acquirements, persons who have successfully

* Lord Teignmouth, late Sir John Shore.

explored the recesses of Hindu learning, and who may, without suspicion, communicate in return the treasures of their own country in science, legislation, and religion. It would be a work worthy of those individuals, of their nation, and their faith, to introduce among the natives of India a taste for English and ancient literature. Would the Scriptures fail to attract those who could once relish the beauties of Xenophon and Plato; who could understand the reasonings of Newton and Locke, and from these great men know their conviction of the Scripture truths? Would they fail to compare our system with their own, gradually to perceive the errors of the latter, to drop, to reject it, and, by the force of their example, to diffuse the new faith among their dependants not so well educated as themselves?

By these means much has been done in other matters; but nothing by haranguing multitudes, or by forcing truth before they were prepared to understand it. Christianity is the religion of philosophy. The Hindus are immersed in ignorance. We must instruct them, we must lead them progressively to improvement in religious happiness, as well as that of habits, laws, and manners.

It is, therefore, again recommended to those who have the administration of our Indian empire in their hands, and its religious improvement at their hearts, to weigh how far either may be benefited by the residence of missionaries differing in their religious and political opinions from the establishment in church and state ; to consider whether the disputes which existed among the Jesuits and Franciscans in China, may not be renewed or imitated by the Baptists, Methodists, and Churchmen in India ; and whether discussions about shades of belief, and the form of a garment, may not injure the worship which they would introduce, and create such mutual animosities as will astonish and repel the incipient convert.

But whatever may be the propriety or ultimate success of the attempt, its novelty and its dangers should now suspend it altogether ; for we see the whole powers of the enemy directed against India. The invasion of that country seems resolved upon ; and the enterprize will be accompanied by the exertion of every artifice to alienate the affections of our subjects, and to fill them with jealousy and distrust. What more cogent argument can be used to alarm and irritate them against us, than to hold out our design to change the form

of their religion, to disgrace their priests, and to trample on all they reverence. The invader will say that he comes to rescue them from the civil tyranny under which they labour at present, and from the religious tyranny which we are preparing for them. He will call to their remembrance the attempts made by the Portuguese to convert their ancestors, and the successful resistance of those ancestors in defence of their temples and their gods. He will contrast the different conduct of the Mahomedans, and will re-publish the manifesto of Egypt, as a proof of his being enlightened by the same liberal policy with the dynasty of Babur.

For God's sake, for the sake of all we hold dear in religion and in liberty, of our friends and relatives in India, whose existence hangs upon the question, of the justice and affection which we owe to our India subjects, which should deter us from a hazardous experiment, even of good, in the moment of danger, and which calls upon us to defend them from the grasp of revolutionary despotism, let us guard against any measure which can in any way diminish the confidence of the people of Hindustan. Then, under the protection of Providence, and with the united efforts of foresight, discipline, and public

spirit, we may reasonably expect to plunge the whole invading hosts into the waves of the Indus, or to drive them back to perish in the deserts of Kerman.

Under the able and upright administration of the immortal Chatham, England subdued America in Germany. Under the able but unprincipled despotism of Buonaparte, France would conquer England on the banks of the Ganges. The design has been long formed, and has been deeply matured. The invasion of Egypt by the army of Italy, was the first act towards its accomplishment. But Heaven aiding the valour of Nelson and Abercrombie, defeated the intention, and Buonaparte has been obliged to confess that he was once frustrated. But is he a man likely to relinquish any of his plans? Let us not deceive ourselves. The occupation of Egypt is still a leading feature in his policy. He knows its importance. It supplies many of the productions of the East, and what is of more weight, it affords, by means of the Red Sea and its coasts, a speedy, and, perhaps, an easy opening to western India. What, though the naval superiority of this country, and an invaluable hold in Malta, may prevent him from transporting an army from Toulon to the Nile by sea, yet his conquests on

the Danube, the Rhine, and the Vistula, have laid the continent prostrate at his feet, and have opened to him all the passes into the interior of Turkey. The march from Dalmatia to the Dardanelles is not long. The Straits may be easily crossed. Asia Minor has no resistance to offer. Pressed by Russia on one hand, and by France on the other, the Porte must yield to their united pleasure, and not only grant a free passage to their armies, but supply them with every necessary on their way. The passes of Cilicia, dreaded by the younger Cyrus, and rendered famous by the battle which decided the fate of the Persian empire under Darius, will have nothing to oppose to the modern Alexander. From thence he may readily traverse Syria, establish a garrison and a Jewish colony at Jerusalem, and passing by Acre, the scene of his defeat, and Jaffa, where he may yet behold the whitened bones of his slaughtered prisoners, and perhaps hear the midnight groanings and threats of his poisoned sick, reach the eastern bank of the Nile, and re-establish his influence from the Red Sea to the deserts of Africa. With Turkey in check, and with an army of thirty thousand men, he cannot experience any successful opposition from the Mamelukes. Nothing can defeat the accomplishment of this scheme but a British force, adequate to the previous reduction of

Egypt, and to the complete protection of its Syrian frontier.*

Thus far we may consider the plan of Buona-
parte as resembling that of Alexander, who subdued and secured Egypt before he proceeded into the heart of the Persian empire. But the Macedonian king had some difficulties to encounter which the Corsican usurper will not meet with. He had to contend with those formidable Scythians whose descendants will support the present invader. But the present invader will, on the other hand, have a longer route to traverse before he reaches his enemy, and will find in that enemy something more formidable than the effeminate armies of Darius, or the irregular valour of Porus. He will meet troops as well acquainted with victory as his own, as well disciplined, better inured to the climate, strongly animated with the love of glory and of their country, and fresh in every thing but discipline and loyalty.

The occupation of Egypt is but a part of

* Perhaps it would be useful to throw a garrison into Acre, and some other places in the line of march, and on the sea coast.

Buonaparte's plans, which are intended to distract our attention by the multiplicity of attack. It would be dangerous to view this as the whole of his design, or Egypt as the only route to India invasion. Fortunately this channel, though apparently the most facile, is one that we can shut up with the greatest ease. It only requires the occupation of that country by our own troops. And this measure will be so far from diminishing our strength, that it will increase and unite it. Egypt offers a constant communication between England and India. An army may in a few weeks be conveyed to it from either country. Malta forms a rendezvous in the Mediterranean for any European troops, and the small island of Perim, situate in the Straits of Babelmandel, presents a proper depôt for an Asiatic force. An old traditionary connection between Egypt and India will encourage the troops of the latter to serve in the former country. It produces rice for their food, and offers them, in the Nile, a stream of nearly equal sanctity with the Ganges. Twenty thousand men from England will be adequate to the occupation of Egypt. When this has been effected, fifteen thousand of them may proceed to India by the Red Sea, in the transports which shall have brought twenty thousand Sepoys to replace them. By such a measure we shall not only increase the number

of our European troops in India, but secure the fidelity of our Asiatic soldiers serving in Egypt, for we shall possess their families as hostages for their good conduct. Should a greater number of Europeans be at any time required in Egypt or India, they can be readily furnished from Malta. But the increase of British troops in India cannot be speedily effected from England, by the usual track round the Cape of Good Hope.

There will not be much difficulty in prevailing upon our native troops to embark for foreign service. It is only necessary to stimulate their ambition by the promise of honours and lands, and to satisfy their religious scruples in every thing connected with the laying in of their sea stores. We have proof that they will readily engage in such expeditions, for they have undertaken them already; and the precautions used by the wise policy of the Marquis Wellesley, will produce a stronger inclination for a second expedition.

Another of the enemy's plans, and that which we cannot so immediately defeat, was to unite a large force, partly French, partly Russian, on the borders of the Caspian, and to proceed from thence to the banks of the Indus, by a route

similar to that of the former invaders of Hindustan. The death of the Emperor Paul suspended the execution of this design; but the present amity of Alexander, the reduced state of Austria, and the annihilation of Prussia, will induce Buonaparte to resume it, with greater force and greater probability of success.*

When this design was in contemplation, one of the projects submitted to the French govern-

* Since the above was written, Spain has endeavoured to rescue herself from the tyranny of France, and to punish the most atrocious of all perfidies ever attempted upon any nation. The contest is too fresh in the recollection of every one to require detail, and its issue, notwithstanding the renewed vigour of the patriots, is, I fear, too likely to disappoint our wishes. There seems a want of national union in any combined operations. Individual zeal has not been deficient, and many worthy of a better fate have perished in the heroic resistance of the enemy. But there appears no man of authority and talent sufficient to command and direct the resources of the country. The men of property have been afraid to risk it; there has been danger in trusting those who had none. And the common people seem to have been more fearful of heretic allies than of orthodox foes. Should, however, some great and energetic character arise in Spain, should the patriots place him at their head, and entrust themselves entirely to his direction, then they may yet rescue their country, and so occupy the tyrant's armies as to afford breathing room to the rest of the continent.

ment for its accomplishment, proposed that thirty-five thousand French should drop down the Danube to the Black Sea, where they were to embark in Russian transports, and to land on the right bank of the Don. Arrived there, they were to move along this river as far as Piaty-bianka, where they would cross the Don, and proceed to the town of Zarison, on the Volga. Here boats were to receive and convey them to Astrakhan, where they were to embark in the merchant ships of the Caspian, and direct their course to Astrabad at the south-east extremity of that sea. It was further proposed that they should be joined at Astrabad by thirty-five thousand Russians, and advance from thence by Herat, Ferah, and Candahar, to the Attock and the Punjab.

Such was the plan proposed, and four months was the time allotted for its execution. Inadequate as is this time, and crude as the project appears, we must not despise it. It has been a constant habit of the revolutionary government to throw out hints of its intentions for some time before it began their execution; sometimes to reconcile the minds of mankind to their atrocity; and sometimes to lull them into the false security consequent on observing that the designs were were not immediately acted upon.

The present is an age of such strange events, that we may reasonably expect any thing the most extravagant to be attempted ; and the successes of Buonaparte have been such as may encourage him to think nothing is impracticable to his genius. He seems not to confine himself to what others have done, but to be anxious to go beyond them in every thing. The invasion of India is, however, what has been often attempted before, and what may therefore be well apprehended again. His means are, apparently, equal, at least, to those of other invaders, and his objects in the invasion are, unquestionably, as strong. With more disciplined armies, and better geographical knowledge, than his predecessors, he joins more experience than Alexander, and greater barbarity than Timur. Whether he prosecutes the measure by his generals, or in person, we may consider it as equally dear to his heart, and as the object which has influenced his whole conduct in obtaining possession of Dalmatia, the friendship of Russia, and the entire control of Turkey. He has armies in Poland, on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Dalmatia. Either of them may easily reach the Black Sea. In their progress to the Caspian they will have none but physical difficulties to encounter. The Russian fleet may take them on board and convey them to Asof or Trebisonde : if to the former, they may proceed

by the route of the Don and Astrakhan, already mentioned : if to the latter, they will then be able to follow the route from Erivan to Nagjowan leading along the Aras to its confluence with the Kur at Jewat, and along the latter river to the Caspian Sea, where they may embark for Astrabad. Or, leaving the Aras on their left, after they have quitted Nagjowan, they may advance to Astrabad through Tebris, Miana, and the province of Mas-andaran, on the south coast of the Caspian.

The most efficient measure by which we can obstruct any part of this plan, is that of introducing a fleet into the Black Sea. But this will be attended with difficulty, in consequence of the state of our relations with the Porte;* and were these relations less unfavourable than they are, the want of secure harbours in that sea, its violent and sudden storms, and the possibility of a counter influence exerted at Constantinople to prevent the passage of supplies through the Bosphorus from the shores of the Euxine, and to close the Straits against the return of our squadron, would render this an enterprise of considerable peril.

* I am happy to find that these relations are again become friendly (April, 1809). They may be made productive of the greatest consequence with regard to the political contest now carrying on in Persia.

If, indeed, the return of our ships can be secured, the other difficulties may be overcome ; for the squadron need not remain long in the Black Sea, before it reaches and destroys the Russian fleet, together with every other vessel capable of conveying troops ; and thus the progress of the French by water will be effectually obstructed.

Under these circumstances they will have either to coast along the Black Sea from the left Bank of the Danube, through the deserts of the Borysthenes, or, after passing through European Turkey to Constantinople, to cross the Bosphorus, and advance through the celebrated provinces of Asia Minor, in the tract formerly pursued by the ten thousand when conducted by Xenophon, a route that will oblige them to traverse the whole southern coast of the Black Sea, and will give them a lengthened march of above seventeen hundred miles.

In considering the possibility of this invasion we are naturally induced to compare it to former invasions, to examine the circumstances in which it differs from them, and the effects likely to arise from their operation.

Of India, previous to the expedition of Alexander, we know little more than that some of its

western provinces had been obliged to acknowledge the sovereignty of the kings of Persia, and to pay a very large proportion of tribute. Of the whole revenue of the Persian monarchy, estimated by Herodotus at 14,560 Eubœan talents, India is stated to have defrayed 4,680, or nearly one third, and to have made the entire payment in gold. It was, likewise, compelled to furnish military service, and its troops formed the strength of the armies of Darius and Xerxes. How far the designation of India extended may be collected from comparing the lists of tributary states with the description which the historian has furnished of the natural limits of the country. As the Bactriani, Parthiani, Chorasmii, Areii, Sojdi, Saki, and Sarangi, are mentioned expressly by name, they do not come under the denomination of Indians, who are said to dwell in a country bounded to the eastward by a sandy desert, and to be the easternmost nation in all inhabited Asia.* These marks point out the left bank of the Indus, and the province of Sinde, while the

* Εἰς τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου ἀντισχονῖα ψαμμος
— Ἰὼν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν Ἰὼν καὶ περὶ αἵτρικες τι λεγεται πρῶτοι
πρὸς ἡὼ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆας οἰκεουσι ἀνδρωπων των εν 7η Ἀσίῃ
Ἰνδοῖ Herod. Lib. iii. Cap. 98.

character of the people, a mountainous and brave race, is still preserved in the Afghans of Candahar and Cabul, two provinces which we know to have been considered as a portion of the old Indian empire.

The magnitude of the tribute, and the bravery of the troops of India, induced Alexander to undertake its conquest. Of the subsequent invasions the most remarkable have been those of Mahmood, of Timur, who introduced, of Babur who established, the royal dynasty of the moguls, and of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Abdalli, who hastened its decline. Of these different invaders the two first, Alexander and Mahmood, were the sons of sovereigns celebrated for their policy and for the discipline of their troops: Babur was a prince, a hero, and a philosopher: the others, like the invader who now threatens, were soldiers of fortune, who laid every thing waste wherever they went. Alexander left his conquest unaccomplished. Mahmood in twelve successive invasions established but a precarious authority. Plunder and bigotry directed the steps of Timur, Nadir Shah, and Abdalli. Babur alone, catching the true character of the Hindus, and superior to depression, though he lost his own empire, was enabled to form a greater, to give it permanence, and to transmit it to his posterity, strength-

ened in all its parts by the willing homage and veneration of his new subjects.

All these invaders entered India by the same route, and subdued its armies with nearly the same facility. All, but Babur, found it necessary to reduce the greater part of the countries between the Caspian Sea and the Indus, before they advanced, and experienced among the inhabitants of these countries the chief obstacles to their progress.

The distance from the south-east extremity of the Caspian Sea to the town of Attock on the Indus, is, in a direct line, eleven hundred and thirty miles; and from Attock to Delhi five hundred and eighty-seven; the whole distance, then, from Astrabad to Delhi is one thousand seven hundred and seventeen miles; or, allowing for the deviation of roads, about two thousand two hundred miles. The principal provinces on the road are Khorasan, Sejestan, Candahar, Cabul, and the Punjab, which latter is divided into the districts of Multan, Lahore, Sirhind, and Delhi. It is likely that the route of the French and Russians will be in this direction, for this has been the track of all prior invaders, and is the one least obstructed by a deficiency in the supply of water, forage, and provisions.

Of these countries all that lie westward of the hills of Candahar, formerly called the Parapamisan Hills, and by the Macedonians Caucasus, constituted a portion of the regular Persian empire, under the names of Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Parikania (Ferah ?) and Parapamisa. The countries eastward of these hills, now called Candahar, Cabul, Afghanistan, and Pehkeli, were known by the general name of India. These were permitted to remain under the government of their own kings, and to be administered by their own laws, on paying the tribute, and furnishing the troops already mentioned.

Khorasan, * which includes the ancient Aria, and part of Bactria, is bounded to the north by the now inhospitable country of the Usbecks, † and to the southward by the great salt desert of Khoestan. The southern parts of this province are without river, water, or grass, and are conse-

* From *Khor*, the old Persian word for the sun, and *assan*, an inhabited place ; a name given it from its situation, being the most easterly of the provinces of the old Persian empire.

† These Usbecks have never yet acknowledged the supremacy of the Russians, and have been always jealous of their encroachments.

quently very unproductive: the northern and north-eastern are bordered by the mountains of Gaur; they enjoy a delightful climate, and abound in water, fruit, and sheep. The route of an army advancing from the Caspian towards the Indus, must therefore be exposed to the molestation of Tartar hordes on the one side, or to the no less dangers of a barren and unwatered track of country on the other. Flying parties of cavalry may always interrupt a line of march, which must be considerably extended, for the advantage of obtaining fodder and water. Hence, although there are no strong places nearer than the hills beyond Herat (Aria), which separate Khorasan from Balk, the reduction of Khorasan has been deemed an indispensable preliminary to the invasion of India. But the reduction of Khorasan did not satisfy Alexander. Still more prudent in the formation of his plans than ardent in their execution, he considered it unsafe to advance upon India until he had completely subdued Bactria and Sogdiana (Balk and Maver-ul-nehr), and secured his rear from the irruption of the Scythians, by driving them behind the Jaxartes, and by establishing strong posts at the different passes of the mountains. The successors of Alexander for some time retained possession of Khorasan, but were at length deprived of their conquest by the growing power

of the Parthians, who established the second Persian empire, and so successfully combated the troops of imperial Rome. The subversion of their empire in the Caliphate of Othman, carried this country under the Mahomedan yoke. It has since fallen successively under the dynasties of Tahar, * Soffar, † Samian, and Sebectagi : the latter made way for the Seljukes, a Tartar race, and these yielded in their turn to the Khorasmians and Gaurs, whose power was afterwards annihilated by Genghis and his successors. The latter governed Khorasan until the great revolution of Timur, whose posterity were afterwards driven out by an irruption of Usbecks. A number of petty Tartar chiefs exhausted the country and each other's strength, until the time of Nadir Shah, who, after many years contest, recovered Khorasan, and restored it to the Persian monarchy, which he subsequently usurped in his own person, and left, at his death, in a state of dissolution, from whence it is not yet revived. The western and northern parts of Khorasan were formerly very fertile, and well inhabited. It boasted of four flourishing cities, Herat (Aria), Balk (Bactriana), Merou, and Nishapoor : but they are greatly declined in wealth and popula-

* A. D. 820.

† A. D. 870.

tion from the condition they were in at the first invasion of Genghis Khan. The two former are situate in the neighbourhood of mountains, the two latter in the midst of plains.

Sejestan, which includes the ancient Dranga or Zarangæa, and the Euergetæ, joins Khorasan on the west, and is bounded by the deserts of Mekran and Kirman on the east and south. On the north it has the hills of Candahar. In its principal town, Zaringe, we may still recognize the ancient name of Zaranga. This country is, for the greater part, level, fertile, and sandy; but subject to hot winds, and ill supplied with water. Bost is the next town to Zaringe in size, and is celebrated for its poets. The eastern geographers describe Sejestan as formerly abounding in gold mines; perhaps it supplied the greatest part of tribute which the Indians furnished to Darius. It was the cradle of the first Persian dynasty, the residence of the hero Rustam, and has suffered extremely in all the irruptions of the Tartars and Moguls.

To the north of Khorasan we find Khuaresm (Chorasmia of Herodotus), and Maver-ul-nehr, the country of the Usbecks, formerly known by the names of Sogdiana, from the river Sogd, and Transoxiana, from its situation beyond the river

Oxus. These provinces were subject to the Persian kings, and were assessed with a regular tribute. Khuaresm is surrounded by a desert, and situate between the Jehoon, or Oxus, and the Caspian Sea. Maver-ul-nehr has been celebrated by the Persians for the fertility of its soil and the healthiness of its climate. The cities of Bochara and Samarcand (Maracanda), were each, at different times, the seat of empire, surrounded with villas, orchards, and gardens, and abounding in the arts and luxuries of polished life. This country appeared the middle stage between the Scythians and Persians, and was exposed to the perpetual conflicts of the contending armies of Iran and Turan. As the Persian monarchy declined in vigor, the Tartars possessed themselves of the valley of Sogd, and there, uniting the spirit of their ancestors to the arts of their vanquished enemies, became celebrated for their bravery, their wit, and their science. New invasions from the north-eastward expelled or reduced these settlers in their turn, and obliged the ill-fated country to experience the alternate extremes of wretchedness and prosperity. It is bounded on the south-west by Khorasan, to the south-east by the mountains of Hindu Kho, by those of Khara Tau to the northward, and to the eastward by the ranges of Tuck and Kuttore, which separate it from China.

The above-mentioned are the principal countries between the Caspian Sea and the provinces of Candahar and Cabul, and were reduced by Alexander previous to his Indian invasion. The treason of Bessus facilitated his success as much as the battles of Issus and Gangamela. These victories put the conqueror in possession of the family of Darius, and dispersed the best troops of the empire. But Bessus, by the murder of his master, extinguished all measures of concerted defence, and afforded the son of Philip an opportunity of winning the affections of the Persian nation, by pursuing and punishing the assassin of their monarch. The gates and stores of the cities through which he marched were thrown open to him. From Zeudracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, he moved through Parthia to Susia, a city of Aria. Here he formed a junction with the remainder of his army, and proceeded towards Bactra, in pursuit of Bessus, who had, by this time, assumed the tiara, the name of Artaxerxes, and the sovereignty of Asia. While on his march, which he appears to have directed to the left of Aria, Alexander heard of the revolt of Satibarzanes, and of his occupation of that city, which was the capital of the province. Influenced by this intelligence, he immediately made a movement to the right, and by a forced march of sixty miles in two days, reached the town, and put the enemy

to flight. Then leaving Aria, he proceeded to the Zarangæi, whose governor he put to death as one of the murderers of Darius, and from them to the Agriaspæ, whom he treated with great kindness, on account of their fidelity to Cyrus. He continued among these people for sixty days, most likely to refresh his army after their fatigues, and to collect stores for his march against Bessus, who had fled beyond the Oxus, and had wasted the intermediate country.

To secure himself from the molestation of the Drangæ and Arachoti, Alexander turned his arms into their country, and pursued them among the hills which separate them from India. These hills he crossed in the midst of snows, in great want of necessaries, and with extreme fatigue to his troops. After encountering many difficulties he reached a flat country, which he traversed until he arrived at the foot of Caucasus. Here he founded a city of his own name,* and then

* Επῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχωροῦντας Αραχόταις. Συμπάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐβη διὰ χιονος ἵε πολλῆς καὶ ἀπορίας τῶν ἐπιηδείων καὶ τῶν σφαλιῶν ταλιπωρία ἐπῆλθε — Ἐν τοῖς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὸν Καυκάσον τὸ ὄρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσῃ καὶ ἀναμάσῃ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ θυσίας ὑπερβαλὲς τῷ ὄρει τὸν Καυκάσον. Arrian, Lib. iii. p. 229 — 230.

advanced upon the mountain, which at that time was completely barren, though in the spring and

Here it is plainly said that Alexander proceeded from the hills of the Arachoti, whom Curtius calls the Parapamisadæ, to the foot of Caucasus, and that he built the city before he crossed that mountain. Curtius further states, that Alexander traversed a cultivated country between the Parapamisadæ and the rivers of Caucasus. Tandem ad cultiora perventum loca est, commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus. — Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem. Septindecem dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Condendæ in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est. Lib. 7, cap. 4. Here it is implied that Alexandria was built *after* crossing Caucasus.

Pliny also says — Alexandriam sub ipso Caucaso condidit. 6 17. Now all these authorities agree in placing Alexandria at the foot of Caucasus, or Hindu Kho, and not at the foot of Parapamisis, or the Indian hills, near Arochosia. If they are right, the modern Candahar is not the Alexandria in question, for it is at a distance from Caucasus, and built at the roots of the Parapamisan Hills, but not before they were crossed. The *εἰ τούτω* of Arrian implies some interval of time between the passage of the Parapamisan Hills, and the reaching of the roots of Caucasus. It was, indeed, the time in which Erigæus pursued and killed Satibarzanes: but Candahar is close to the hills of Parapamisis.

One of the strongest reasons for supposing Candahar to be one of Alexander's seven cities is drawn from the similarity of sound between Candahar and Eskander, the oriental name of Alexander. But these etymologies are seldom to be relied upon, and have frequently led to very absurd mistakes.

summer seasons it produced the *selphium* and *terebinthus*, on which the cattle of the surrounding country depastured. But Bessus, who had pursued the same track, had wasted every thing in his retreat, and was retired as far as Nautaca.

After fatiguing marches of seventeen days, in crossing Caucasus, Alexander found it necessary to halt at Drapsaca (Bamian), for the refreshment of his troops. Leaving this place, he proceeded to Aornos and Bactra, (Balk) both of which he took. After crossing the Oxus, and receiving Bessus, who had been delivered up to him by Spitamenes, and replacing the horses which he had lost in passing the mountain and the river, he reached Maracanda (Samancand), and pushed on to the Banks of the Jaxartes (the Sir), where he took and destroyed seven cities, the principal of which was built by Cyrus, and bore his name.

Having repelled and made peace with the Scythians, Alexander returned towards Maracanda, then besieged by Spitamenes, and reached it after marching one hundred and fifty miles in three days. Spitamenes fled, and was pursued to the borders of the Scythian desert, beyond the river Polytemetus. After this Alexander returned to Bactra, with the design of

wintering there. It was at this place he gratified the Persians with the punishment of Bessus, the assumption of their dress and arms, and wounded the attachment of his friends by his intemperance, and by the murder of Clitus.

Early in the spring he undertook another expedition, for the more complete reduction of Sogdiana, where Spitamenes still continued to excite revolt. The death of that chief, and the daring and successful attack made upon the strong holds of the country, reduced the whole province to subjection. Having effected this, Alexander returned to Bactra, and from thence, in ten days, across Caucasus (the spring being by this time considerably advanced), to the new city of Alexandria.*

All the arrangements for the government of the conquered provinces during his absence being settled, and a levy of thirty thousand recruits being raised among them, Alexander proceeded

* Strabo (Lib. xv. p. 697, Ed. Causab.) says that he returned by a shorter road, *ὑπερβας ἢ αὐτὰ οὐροῦ κατ' ἄλλους ὁδοὺς ἐπιβιμόλους ἐναρτίστην εἰχὼν τὴν Ἰνδικήν*. He had doubtless paid attention to the different passes in the mountains before he set out on his return from Balk.

to Nicæa, and the banks of the Cophenes, where he met Taxiles, and the other Indian chiefs, who invited him into their country. Here he divided his army, directing Hephestion to proceed with the main body through Peucelaotis to the banks of the Indus, and to reduce all the places on his route, while the king, with a light detachment of the best troops, scoured the country to the northward of the Cophenes. In the early part of his march he passed through the lands of the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arasaci, a mountainous and rugged district, to the river Choes, which he crossed with difficulty. One town which opposed him was razed to the ground; another, called Andraca, submitted and was spared. The Euaspla was the next river he met with, beyond which he found the town of Ari-gæum, situate among the hills, and already deserted by its inhabitants. After several battles with the mountaineers he crossed the river Guræus, formidable for its rapidity and the loose stones it carried along, and traversing the territory of the Guræans, attacked Massaga, the largest town in that country. It capitulated, and its surrender was followed by the capture of Ora and Bazyra, the former taken by storm, the latter quitted by its inhabitants, who, with those of several other towns, betook themselves to the

celebrated rock of Aornos, twenty miles in circumference and above one in height. *

While the king was thus advancing along the hills, Hephestion had captured and left a garrison at Orobatis, and was constructing a bridge over the Indus. Alexander also moved towards the river, apparently to receive the surrender of Peucelaotis, and to reinforce his army for the projected siege of Aornos. After reducing several small places on the Indus, he advanced to Embolima, near Aornos, where he established his magazines, and then proceeded with a select force to the attack of the rock. It was carried by the intrepidity of Ptolemy; a garrison was left in it, and the army marched to Dyrta, situate among the Assacani. The people fled into the mountains, where they were followed by the light troops and dispersed; the king in the mean while directing his course to the Indus, through a woody country, the timber of which his troops formed into boats, on which they were carried down the stream, to the bridge which Hephestion had already constructed.

The expedition of Alexander being the first in

* Arrian, Lib. 4, p. 306.

time, and the only one recorded with minuteness, deserves our very serious consideration : and not only for these reasons, but, also, because his campaigns in the vicinity of India, and his communication with its chiefs, afforded him every intelligence as to the route which he should pursue. He must have known, what has been long an Indian proverb, that no one can well call himself master of India, who is not master of Cabul. This province commands the passes from the north, as Candahar does those from the west ; and the nature of this communication, with the importance of commanding it, must have been well known to Alexander while he resided at Bactra, or Balk. It is hardly probable, therefore, that he did not visit Cabul, and secure these passes, which would afford him a free communication with his viceroys in Bactria and Sogdiana. And if we consider the situation of the country, and his motives, when he moved from Bactria towards India, we must be inclined to believe that the town of Alexandria, which he then visited, was nearer Caucasus than the modern Candahar ; for this city is above one hundred and ten miles south of Bamian, or Drapsaca, and as many more from the Cophenes, while Bamian is not above fifty from that river.

We are told, that in passing from the Cophenes,

or the Cow river, to the Choes, which must be the Kameh, he found the country mountainous and rugged. But the direct road from Candahar towards Cabul, is flat and uninterrupted.* Alexander's route must have been, therefore, to the left or northward of this road, and among the hills which form the chain of Hindu Kho, and separate Balk from Cabul. It was near these hills that he must have found the river rapid, and that the inhabitants of the country sought for refuge. The principal town of this country, its ancient name is not given, he razed: was it not the modern Cabul, situate between the Choes and the Euaspla? The next town, Andraca, more to the northward, capitulated. We have no means of knowing the modern name of this town, but as Alexander's design was to secure himself on the side of Balk, we may consider it as lying between Cabul and the hills. After this he crossed the Euaspla, † one of the small streams which join the Kameh at Cabul. We are equally ignorant of the position of Arigæum, knowing only that it lay near the mountains; but the river

* The road to Cabul, by way of Khorasan and Candahar, is without any winding, and is free from hills. — *Vide, Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 162.

† Perhaps at the Pul musteen. *Ayeen Akbery*.

Guræus, which was crossed with so much difficulty, is doubtless the Baran, which joins the Kameh below Adeenaghur, and forms the united stream of the Attock. Massaga was the next town on the way, and at some distance from the river on which Alexander retreated to draw out the garrison. From Massaga he advanced against Ora, and Bazira, the latter situate in the hilly country now known by the name of Bijore, on the confines of Sewaad, and abounding with mountainous passes: this corresponds with the description of Aornos, which Strabo places near the sources of the Indus, rather than of the Sewaad river. Alexander moved from Bijore to Peucelaotis, in which name the modern Pehkely is recognized, and returned to Aornos along the Indus, by way of Embolima. After the reduction of Aornos, he again invaded the Assacani, whom I cannot consider as the people of Issakhyl; for these are stated in the Ayeen Akbery to lie to the south-east of Cabul, and the people attacked by Alexander were evidently to the north-east of Bijore. I deem them to be rather the inhabitants of the hills bordering on the Kuttore and Cashgar countries, countries that were likely to obstruct his march, to require advanced parties for clearing the jungles, and to supply that timber with which his boats were constructed.

Under these impressions I take the liberty of differing from the high authority of Major Rennel, as to Alexander's route from the Cophenes to the Indus, though I feel pleasure in acknowledging the many obligations, which, in common with others, I owe that gentleman for his illustrations of Indian geography, and for the means of forming an opinion on this intricate subject. I should not have ventured to have expressed an opinion contrary to his, could I have reconciled the march of Alexander, as traced by him, with a period of six weeks employed in the expedition; for the distance by his account is not so much as two hundred miles, including the counter-march from Peucelaotis to Aornos. Now Alexander met with no delay excepting at Massaga: this town indeed held out four days, which, however, only compensated the two forced marches made immediately after crossing the Euaspla. And again, as his object was to clear the country north of the Cophenes, it seems reasonable to conclude that he would have held the work imperfectly effected, until he had established a communication with Balk by the pass of Tool, and either driven the inhabitants of the country beyond the mountains of Kuttore, or hemmed them in between his own army and that of Hephestion. It is for these reasons, supported

by the continued mention of mountains near his line of march, as well as by the traditions of the country,* that I am induced to think Alexander visited Cabul, and that he proceeded along the mountainous barrier of that province to the banks of the Indus.

The friendship of Taxiles secured the passage of the Indus, and the vicinity of his capital to the place of crossing, determines it to have been above the town of Attock, situate at the confluence of the river of that name with the Indus. The progress of the conqueror across the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, towards the banks of the Hyphasis, Major Rennel has most satisfactorily detailed. In these rivers he recognizes the Chelun, the Chunaub, the Rauvee, and the Beyah, the four most westerly streams of the Punjab. During this progress, the principal resistance arose from Porus, and the banks of the Chelun were the scene of the contest.† But the

* They say that Secunder (Alexander) left treasure in Cabul under the care of some of his relations, and some of their descendants who carry their genealogical table in their hands, now dwell in the mountainous part. *Ayeen Akbery.*

† This battle was fought in April, 327, before our æra, in the Attic month Munychion, and the archonship of Hegemon. *Arrian. Dodwell.*

valour of one chieftain, deserted by his neighbours, was unequal to oppose one hundred and twenty thousand men, led on by the conqueror of western Asia, whose forces increased as he proceeded, who prepared his victories beforehand, by sowing dissensions among those who should resist him, and who, by attacking each singly, conquered all. *

This conduct of the Macedonian monarch has been but too successfully imitated by the Corsican usurper, and has given just cause to Spain, to Austria, to the different states of Germany, and to Prussia, more than any, to deplore the influence of mutual jealousy, and the proved truth of a maxim which the events of former ages should have convinced them to have been unerring. These jealous divisions have already ruined the continent of Europe—It is for us, profiting by the precept and the example, to take care that the same consequences shall not occur in Asia, and that those whom we cannot secure by benefits as our friends, shall by our power be rendered incapable of giving assistance to our enemies.

Alexander crossed the Hydaspes where its

* Ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur. *Tacitus.*

stream was divided by a rocky island. Such an island still exists in the Chelun, and as his course from the Indus to this river was southerly, the towns of Bucephalia and Nicæa, built on its banks to commemorate the victory and the faithful companion of many victories, must also be southward of the place where he passed the Indus. These circumstances fix the passage of the Hydaspes, or Chelun, at the island where the fort of Jemaud was afterwards erected.

Of the country between the Hydaspes and Acesines, Porus had commanded the greater part. His bravery excited the respect of his conqueror, and in consequence of his submission, he again received possession of his dominions, together with the country of the Glausii, whom Alexander compelled to obey an authority which they had not previously recognized.

After settling the arrangements of this district, Alexander proceeded to the Acesines or Chunaub, which he crossed in a wide and shallow part of its course, and advanced towards the Hydraotes in pursuit of another Porus, who refused to submit to his authority. Leaving Hephestion to clear the right bank of the Hydraotes, and to reduce the country between it and the Acesines, he passed the former river,

and hastened to the dispersion of the confederacy formed by the Cathei, and waiting to give him battle at Sangala. Two marches brought him from the Hydraotes to Pimprana and the Adraistæ. The enemy were posted on an eminence in front of the town. After their defeat and the capture of the place, Alexander moved on in an easterly direction to the Hyphasis. This river is generally supposed to be the Beyah, and Alexander is said to have crossed it *above* its confluence with the Setleje, which communicates its name to the united stream. But a direct easterly course from Sangala brings us *below* the confluence of the two rivers, and to a body of water more likely to terrify the Macedonians than the Beyah, which is greatly inferior to the Chunaub or the Chelun, both of which they had already crossed.

And the description of the country immediately beyond the river, suits better with the Setleje, below the junction, than with the Beyah above it; for Diodorus informs us that it was a desert of ten days' march, and such a desert still exists to the south-east of Firoospore. But there is no desert between the Beyah and the Setleje.

It was to this river, then, that Alexander advanced from Sangala with an intention of reduc-

ing the nations beyond it. They were represented as highly civilized, wealthy, and brave. But the magnitude of the river, now much swollen with the summer rains, the dreadful accounts given of the desert, and the epidemical complaints of the season, excited a mutiny in the troops, and a refusal to advance further. After a severe struggle, Alexander was obliged to yield; and contenting himself with the erection of twelve altars, situate perhaps beyond the Beyah, along which he might have moved to avoid the inundation of the lower country, he returned to the banks of the Hydaspes, and embarked on board the fleet which awaited his arrival at Nicæa, leaving to Porus the sovereignty of the country, and contented with the acknowledgment of his own supremacy.*

When we consider the state of India at the time of Alexander's invasion, divided as it was among petty chiefs who were mutually jealous of each other, † and more ready to aid than

* Alexander embarked a few days before the heliacal morning setting of the Pleiades, or a few days before the 20th of October, 327 before our æra. *Strabo*.

† Megasthenes states their number as one hundred and twenty, in the part of the country known to him.

to resist the invader, we cannot but feel some surprize at his proceeding no further. No opposition met him on the Indus, nor in crossing the hills west of the Chelun, which form the first and principal defences of the Punjab. The difficulty with which the passage of the latter river was effected, proves what might have been done by experienced troops in preventing that of the former. But the defeat of Porus left the banks of the Punjab rivers unoccupied, and when another army was formed, it preferred the paltry defences of a town to the natural barriers of the country.

From the little that historians convey to us on the subject, we are at a loss to account for Alexander's retreat, and are tempted to believe that, having employed from the month of March to August in the conquest of a part of the Punjab, he really experienced a resistance which rendered imprudent his advance among the Prasii and Gandarides, though the national vanity of the Greeks suppressed all mention of the circumstance. In this supposition we are strengthened by the account of the flourishing nature of those countries, whose resources were yet untouched, and by the subsequent conduct which they have almost invariably adopted, of contending with their western invaders on the plains of Carnoul-

rather than on the western frontiers of Hindustan. This trait of their conduct deserves to be remembered, in order that it may not be imitated. The enemy who crosses the Setleje in safety, has every advantage in his favour ; the success of surmounting all the natural defences, and the necessity of finding safety in victory.

Alexander knew nothing of the people beyond the Setleje. His successors extended their knowledge to the Ganges, and preserved some influence over the Indian princes. But though Hindustan experienced a visit from Antiochus, who renewed the treaty with Sophagesenes,* and after receiving one hundred and fifty elephants, returned through Arokaje and Zaringe into Carmania, it was, upon the whole, left in much greater quiet than the countries west of the Indus. These, bordering too nearly on the Tartar race, were exposed to the repeated inroad of these tribes, and although benefited by the science and arts of a Grecian government, they attained little beyond the restlessness of a Grecian people.

The example of Bactria, which soon shook off the yoke, was imitated by Parthia. This coun-

* A. C. 203. See Polybius, Lib. xi. Cap. 29.



try, after expelling the Greeks, and encountering successfully the armies of consular and imperial Rome, fell under the renovated dynasty of Persia, of which it formed a province, and submitted with that empire to the followers of Mahomed.

The power of the Kaliphs declined as rapidly as it had advanced. Khorasan, Sejestan, Candahar, and Cabul were wrested from their hands by several successive usurpers, who established dynasties that soon made way for others.* But the full measure of the wretchedness of these

* The Thaherites, founded in Khorasan by Thaher, a general of the Kaliph Almamon, about the year 815. The Soffarides by Jacob Leith, who extended his empire over Sejestan, Khorasan, and a great part of Persia, A. D. 872, and made Balk his principal residence. The Samanians, who derived their name from Saman, a camel-driver, the grandfather of Ismael, who annexed the dominions of the Soffarides to Maver-ul-nehr, and fixed his seat of empire at Bokhara, and died in 907. The Ghasnevites, who, under Abistagi and Sebestagi, about the year 960, wrested Khorasan and Ghizni from the kings of Bochara. The Seljukes, who conquered Khorasan from the grandson of Sebestagi, A. D. 1035. And the Gaurides, who elevated themselves on the ruins of Ghizni, A. D. 1150, but were soon despoiled of the western provinces by the Khuaresmians, whom Genghis Khan subdued, about the year 1220.

countries was reserved for the age of the monster Genghis Khan, who found them full of wealth and people, and left them in the stillness of the grave.

They had scarcely began to revive from the desolation occasioned by Genghis, when they experienced a renewal of sufferings from the cruel Timur, and from his time to this they have been subject to a continued warfare of the most exhausting nature.

But to return to India. The tribute paid to Alexander was continued to his successors by Sandracottus and his two next in descent, until Arsaces assumed the Persian tiara, and claimed the homage of the new Indian dynasty, which had been established by Jonah* about 240 years before our æra. A dependent government possesses neither the means of prosperity or safety. The love of country becomes lost in the preservation of self, and national honour sinks into private aggrandisement. The Indian monarchy, which had feebly existed on sufferance rather than on its own strength, was dissolved in the

* Supposed by some to have been the Sophagesenes of Arrian.

time of Callianchund * into several small states, nor was it afterwards distinguished but by petty feuds until the time of Bickermajeet, the patriot king of Malva and Gujerat, a contemporary and an illustrious rival to the celebrated Sapor. The reign of Bickermajeet was a bright day in the history of India, and his name is still dear to the natives. He died in battle, † and with him was extinguished the glory of his country, which continued to pay tribute to Persia, and languished in decline, although marked, towards the year 330, by two virtuous monarchs, Basdeo and Ramdeo, who were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Feroos Sarsa, the father of Kaicobad.

On the death of Ramdeo, Purtabchund, a stranger in blood, mounted the throne, and willing to gain popularity, suspended the usual tribute to Persia. But Noshirvan was not a prince who would readily relinquish his rights. A Persian invasion ensued, and India, long agitated by party quarrels, and rendered by repeated revolutions indifferent to the person on the throne, made a most feeble resistance. The arrears of the tribute, and its payment in ad-

* Before Christ, 170.

† A. D. 89.

vance, were insisted upon by the victor, and paid by the vanquished. *

From the time of Purtabchund the minor princes of India assumed a more decided character, and the head of the empire was obliged to drop all appearance of superiority. Not long after this, the Arab invasion of Khorasan, and the occupation of Candahar, Cabul, and the hills of the Afghans, opened the road to Hindustan, and prepared the way to a fresh invasion. These people, the Afghans, inhabited the mountainous barrier of the country, and were distinguished by their valour in the armies of the first Persian kings, and during the expedition of Alexander. They claimed their descent from the children of Israel, and certainly possessed all the ferocity of that uncommon people. They were formed into a kind of federal patriarchal government, suitable to the nature of their country, and, like all mountaineers, were attached

* About the year 510. The Rana of Oudipoor, the most respectable in birth of the Rajeports, traces his pedigree to Noshirvan, one of whose daughters was given in marriage to his ancestor. That ancestor must have been a Hindu; his marriage with a foreigner is therefore a very remarkable event, and appears at variance with the strict observance of cast, so much insisted on at present.

to the soil on which they were born. They often repulsed their Arab invaders,* and without any regular establishment, poor, brave, free, and ardent, were soon destined to form an empire which extended from the Jumna to the shores of the Caspian, and from the deserts of Persia to the banks of the Jaxartes. The revolution of time has enabled us to trace the dissolution of their government by the descendants of Timur, and its renovation on the ruins of that house. It still exists, and preserves the original character of its framers, jealousy, restlessness, and barbarism.

The dynasty of Saman, availing itself of the weakness of the Kaliphs of Bagdat, had extended its dominions over Transoxiana, Khorasan, Sejestan, Cabul, and Candahar. To check the restless spirit of the Afghans, a governor and garrison were established at Ghizni, the capital of a small province of the same name, under the immediate orders of the viceroy of Khorasan. The name of this viceroy, about the year 960, was Abistagi or Alpteghin, as Herbelot calls him, and that of the governor of Ghizni Sebuctagi,

* A cave near Candahar was found to contain the heads of some thousands of these invaders. *Ayeen Akbery.*

originally a Tartar slave in the service of Abistagi, who, in consequence of a dispute with the sultaun of Bochara, made himself independent in his government, and placed Sebuctagi at the head of his armies.

Hindustan, which had already been invaded by this Tartar, while in the service of Abistagi, was doomed to encounter his further oppressions when he became the successor of that chief.* Reducing Cabul, he advanced across the Indus into the Punjab, then governed by the Bramin Jeypal, who, at the head of one hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, met Sebuctagi on the left bank of the Indus, and was completely defeated. His dominions were annexed to those of the conqueror, who, after extending his empire from Persia to the Oxus, and from the Caspian Sea to Lahore, died in the year 997, and was succeeded by his son Mahmood, the scourge of India.

Mahmood, † as well as his father, was a zealous Mahomedan, and was urged to the conquest of

* A. D. 977.

† "The son of the slave of the slave of the slave of the prophet." *Gibbon*.

India by his hatred of Paganism, and his lust for plunder. His indiscriminating rage against the Hindu superstitions rendered the conquest of the country a tedious work, and excited an opposition, which no former invader had encountered. But his power was also greater than that of former invaders. He was complete master of the adjoining provinces, had an army trained to conquest, and obtained ready supplies from the Tartar nations, after he had extirpated the Samanian race, and possessed himself of the kingdom of Bochara.

Having settled the affairs of Bochara, he invaded Hindustan in 999, and returned with much plunder. In the ensuing year he defeated the Rajah Jeypal, at Peshore, and reduced Betinda. Jeypal, by a voluntary death (for he had been twice defeated), transmitted the war to his son Anundpal. A third invasion gives to Mahmood the town of Tahera, situate beyond Multan, and belonging to Bachera, a prince who had resisted the son of Jeypal, and who perished in the battle which decided the fate of his territory.

The fourth invasion * was followed by the

* A. D. 1005.

defeat of Anundpal, among the passes of Peshore, and by the submission of Multan, which had revolted ; but the further progress of the invader was prevented by an irruption made into Kho-rasan by Ilenk Khan, whose forces, joined to those of his allies, the Tartars, were encountered by Mahmood near Balk, and, after a desperate engagement, repelled beyond the Oxus.

During his visits to India, Mahmood had encouraged the diffusion of the faith of Mahomed : he had given power and command to some Hindus who had apostatized : he had left one of these in charge of his conquests when he moved against Ilenk Khan. This governor rebelled against his new master, and was punished ; but the attack on the faith of Brama, and the apostacy of one of its votaries alarmed the whole of the Hindu princes. The rajahs of Delhi, Ougein, Guallior, Callingar, Ajmere, and Canouje, joined their forces to those of Anundpal, and proceeded to the plains of Peshore. Here they were completely defeated by Mahmood, who, availing himself of the victory, advanced against, and took the strong post of Biek, in the district of Nagracot, situate on a rock, and containing the religious treasures of the country.* This defeat was fol-

* A. D. 1008.

lowed by the submission of the Punjab, and by a treaty, accompanied, on the part of the rajah, with fifty elephants, and an annual tribute.

The affairs of Hindustan being thus settled, Mahmood addressed himself to the reduction of the inhabitants of the Gaurian Hills, and of Gurghistan. But these facile conquests did not satisfy his ambition; nor did his zeal feel easy while a Hindu temple remained perfect. The respect entertained for, and, perhaps, the wealth reported to be contained in, the temple of Tanassar,* determined him to attack it. Anundpal was obliged to afford him a free passage through Lahore, and the temple fell into his hands before the rajah of Delhi had been able to collect a force for its protection. Delhi itself experienced the same fate with Tanassar:† but as Lahore and Multan were not yet completely subdued, Mahmood satisfied himself with plundering the country, and returned to Ghizni.

The following year he invested Nindoona, in the district of Lahore, and after its capture, marched against the son of Anundpal, who had retired into Cashmere. The fugitive was followed by Mahmood, who plundered the pro-

* 30 Miles W. of Delhi.

† A. D. 1012.

vince, and, returning the next season, reduced the whole country to submission, and compelled many of its natives to embrace his faith.

The possession of Cashmere afforded him a new route, through which he advanced upon Canouje at the head of 130,000 Tartars, and entered that kingdom by way of Tibet.* The mountains were the only obstacles he had to encounter. The king of Canouje submitted. The conqueror returned by way of Merat, which capitulated; of Mavin, on the Jumna, which surrendered at discretion; and of Mutra,† which he plundered and defaced. From Mutra he proceeded against the hill forts of the Rajepoots, a warlike and free race of Hindu mountaineers from whom the modern Mahrattas claim descent, and, after some difficulty, took Munge and Chundpal. Satisfied with these captures, he crossed the Indus and reached Ghizni, with 20,000,000, of dihrms, 53,000 captives, 350 elephants, and an inestimable amount of pearls and precious stones.

The plunder of India was laid out in the embellishment of Ghizni, and the court of Mahmood became the centre of learning and elegance. Firdausi flourished in this reign; and

* A. D. 1018.

† Situate 36 miles above Agra.

having written the poem of the *Shahnamah*, at the request of the sultaun, retired disgusted with the small recompense made him for the work, and employed himself in satires on Mahmood's avarice and deformity. The work of his genius remains, but the offspring of his spleen is no longer known.

The king of Canouje had submitted to Mahmood, and was said to have relinquished the Hindu faith. This apostacy cost him his life. The punishment of his murderers carried the sultaun of Ghizni to the banks of the Jumna, which he crossed without opposition, in face of an Hindu army that fled at his approach.* His next expedition was against Locote, in Cashmere, which resisted his efforts, and Lahore, which he captured, and gave up to the plunder of his troops. And in the following year he invaded Hindustan an eleventh time, directing his course against the king of Callingar, who now submitted to the authority of his arms.

The twelfth, and last expedition of this bigot, was directed against the temple of Sumnat, in the Guzerat.† He advanced by way of Multan,

* A. D. 1021.

† A. D. 1024.

crossed the desert to Ajmere, which he laid waste, and then proceeded to Narwallah, from whence he reached Sumnat, across another desert. His attempt to carry the temple by assault was foiled ; but the army collected for its defence was defeated ; and the place was soon after surrendered, and as usual, plundered of all its wealth. Mahmood returned by way of Gurdea, which he took by storm, and of the pleasant territory of Narwallah, where he once intended to have fixed his residence.

Mussaood succeeding to his father's empire and views, invaded Hindustan by the passes of Sirsuttu and Cashmere, in the year 1032. Three years after he advanced upon the city of Hassi, and the fort of Sumput, both of which he reduced. After taking several other places, he returned to Ghizni, where the growing power of the Seljukes excited his fears, and soon obliged him to fly to India for safety. But he found it not there—he was deposed on the banks of the Chelun, and was soon after put to death by the insurgents.

The Seljukes had served in the armies of Mahmood, and the plunder of Hindustan invited many under the banners of his son. But the numbers anxious to emigrate from Tartary,

exceeded what Mussaood could entertain, and the new comers soon proceeded from requests to threats. Their force accumulated, the Afghans joined them, and they soon stripped the house of Ghizni of all its possessions, to the westward and northward of Sejestan, Candahar, and Cabul.

These provinces, with the unsettled possession of Hindustan, formed the whole of the territory of Moodood, the son of Mussaood. Though the Hindus were more easily encountered than the Tartars, the troops of Ghizni were no longer permitted to be victorious. The king of Delhi took Tannasar, Hassi, and Nagraçot. The rajahs of the Punjab were encouraged to attack Lahore, but were repulsed.* For several years after this, Hindustan was relieved from the invasion of the princes of the house of Ghizni, who were occupied in defending their possessions to the westward from the repeated attacks of the Seljuk Tartars and the mountaineers of Gaur. The Sultan Ibrahim, availing himself of a momentary calm, advanced beyond Ajodin in 1079, and reduced the strong fort of Rupal, situate in that neighbourhood, and built upon a hill surrounded on three of its sides with water. He also subdued an ancient colony of Khorasans, left among

* A. D. 1043.

these mountains by a former Persian invader.* But this expedition added not to the eastern boundary of his empire, or to the security of his throne.

The rebellion of Balin, the governor of Lahore, called Byram, the grandson of Ibrahim, into Hindustan, in the year 1150. Nagore was taken, and the rebel defeated near Multan. His brother, one of the Gaurian princes, to revenge his death, invaded Ghizni, entered the capital, and soon after experienced a similar fate. Alla, the third brother, was more successful; he defeated Byram, and obliged him to fly into Hindustan, where he died an exile from the throne of his fathers, and protected among a people whom they had persecuted and oppressed.

The prince of Gaur took possession of Ghizni; and after a few years' struggle with the Turkmans, who invaded the country, and with Chusero, who endeavoured to recover the dominions of his father Byram, succeeded in extending his authority

* Such is the account given by Ferishta, but there is no trace of this invasion among the native historians. The Greek writers allude to the same occurrence, but give no details. We know little indeed of the ancient revolutions of empire.

through Afghanistan, Peshore, and Multan.* Lahore, the seat of the Ghiznian prince, held out for some years longer ; but, at length, fell into the hands of Mahommed Ghori, together with the person of the second Chusero, and the whole of the remaining possessions of his house.†

About this time the Seljukes, who had established themselves in Khorasan and Persia, were defeated by the viceroy of Khuarism, who founded a new dynasty in that country. These revolutions became daily more frequent, and were in part occasioned by the delegation of exclusive powers to viceroys, and by continuing those powers in the decendants of the same family.

Five years after the capture of Lahore, Mahomed advanced into Ajmere, and took Tiberhind. The rajah of Ajmere joined his troops to those of the rajah of Delhi, endeavoured to effect the recovery of his capital. The armies met at the

* Some time previous to this, Mahommed Ghori had marched against Guzerat, through the desert below Multan, and was defeated by Rajah Bimdeo. But he succeeded in reducing the right bank of the Indus as far as the sea, and built the fortress of Salcot to hold Lahore in check.

† A. D. 1186.

village of Sirauri, on the river Sirsuttu.* Mahommed was wounded and put to flight, and Tiberhind, as well as Ajmere, fell into the possession of the victors.

But the prince of Gaur was not one who yielded to defeat — the next year brought him back to Hindustan with a more formidable force, and he once more met the confederates on the fatal banks of the Sirsuttu. This river he forded in the night, attacked the Indian camp, and dispersed the army of 150 princes. The forts of Sirsuttu, Samana, Khoran, and Hassi opened their gates — Ajmere was again taken and plundered; after which he returned to Ghizni, by the mountains of Sewallic, leaving Cuttub, who had been originally a Tartar slave, to secure the conquered provinces, and to effect the reduction of Merat and Koel.

The plunder which he had acquired in the Indian camp soon invited the return of Mahommed into the country. Between Chundwan and Atava he defeated the rajah of Canouje, and proceeding downwards along the Ganges, took Assi, which contained the treasures, and Bunaris, which held the idols of the Hindus.†

* 14 Miles from Tanassar.

† A. D. 1194.

Cuttub, now the confirmed viceroy of Hindustan, made Delhi the seat of his government, and employed himself in extending the faith of Mahomed among his new subjects. Ajmere revolted, and was subdued by this chief, who carried his army from thence into Guzerat, and punished Bimdeo for the victory which he had lately wrested from Mahommed Ghorî. Biana and Guallior were taken the following year by Mahommed in person; who, returning from Hindustan to secure the western frontier of his dominions, and the succession of his brother Yeas-ud-deen, subdued Khorasan, and, while employed in settling its disorders, left Cuttub to extend his eastern conquests. But his successes in the west were soon extinguished by the too powerful opposition of the king of Samarcand. This monarch marched to the relief of the king of Khuarism, then besieged in his capital by Mahommed. A dreadful engagement ensued, when Mahommed, after witnessing the destruction of his whole army, was obliged to seek safety in flight.

This defeat of their sovereign encouraged the governors of Ghizni and Multan to rebel, and induced the Gickers, a race of mountaineers inhabiting the country between the Indus and the mountains of Sewallic, to overrun the province

of Lahore. The fidelity of Cuttub enabled the monarch to reduce the barbarians of the Punjab. But as he was preparing a second expedition against the Tartars, for the recovery of his conquests and military fame, he was assassinated in his tent, on the banks of the Indus, by a daring party of the mountaineers, who had eluded the vigilance of the guard, and penetrated, unobserved, into the centre of the Gaurian camp.

On the death of Mahommed,* Cuttub, who had so materially aided in the reduction of Hindustan, and had been adopted by the king as the heir of his eastern conquests, succeeded to that portion of the empire. He was the first foreign sovereign of India who resided in that country. But the provinces west of the Indus were occupied by Illoze, another Tartar slave. He was not long able to retain them. After some contest, they were wrested from his hands by Mahommed Kharism. Driven from Ghizni, Illoze endeavoured to possess himself of the dominions of Cuttub, but was defeated † by Altumsh, likewise a Tartar slave, who had married Cuttub's daughter, and was nominated his successor in the government. Several enemies op-

* A. D. 1202.

† A. D. 1217.

posed themselves to Altumsh ; among others, the unfortunate Jillal-ud-deen, king of Kharrism, who, flying from the invasion of Genghis Khan, attempted to establish himself in India. It was in vain that he swam his horse across the Indus ; misfortune still accompanied his progress to the eastward. At Lahore he was met by Altumsh, and driven back upon the river, where the governor of Multan encountered his reduced force, and obliged him to fly for refuge into Persia, by way of Kutch and Mukran, Cabul being already in the possession of his Tartar oppressors. Relieved from all further apprehensions of attack from the Afghan provinces, Altumsh had leisure to direct his efforts towards the Ganges. He soon succeeded in the extension of his empire over Bahar and Bengal: he recovered Guallior from the Rajepoots, reduced the city of Oujein, with all Outch and Malwa, and finally rendered himself the complete master of Hindustan. In the mean while Genghis Khan conquered the whole of Tartary, and extended his influence from the shores of Syria to the waters of the Indus.

Though the Chinese expedition relieved Hindustan from the visits of Genghis Khan, the country between it and the Caspian Sea felt all the dreadful effects of his presence. What

the fate of India might have been, had this savage attempted its invasion instead of the conquest of China, we may well imagine from the devastation which accompanied his progress in other countries. But that he would have been easily successful, may, perhaps, be somewhat doubtful. He would have found in Altumsh a soldier of fortune, nursed in camps, and inured to the business of war ; retaining enough of his Tartar character to give firmness and activity to all his measures ; and, at the same time, instructed by a residence among a more polished people, in the arts which conciliate affection, and in the sciences which add wisdom and experience, without lessening energy. Genghis would have opposed a cavalry that had hitherto triumphed over every enemy, to a force composed of veterans equally successful with his own, and better acquainted with the nature and resources of the country in which they must contend for victory or existence. If either had been defeated, the Ganges and the Indus would have precluded escape. But the good fortune of Hindustan saved it from the shock, and carried the barbarian into other countries.

This scourge of mankind was born in the year 1160, of the Mogul race, and was first known by the name of Tamugin ; his other appellation,

Genghis Khan, or king of kings, being given to him by a prophet of Turkestan, after he had defeated the Mogul, Tartar, and Kathay princes.

The river Oxus formed the ancient boundary between Persia and Turkestan, a name applied to the whole country beyond the Oxus, the inhabitants of which, whether Tartars, Moguls, Igu-reans, or Kathayans, were generally denominated Turkmans, from their first ancestor Turk, the reputed son of Japhet.

The descendants of Turk had, in former ages, repeatedly invaded the Persian provinces, and had been often driven back into their fastnesses by the armies of that nation. But their habits of life (pasturage and the chase), and the necessity of providing for a population which their mode of living continually increased, encouraged them to quit their own plains, and to seek establishments in other countries. From this cause arose those early migrations of the Cimmerians and Scythians, mentioned by the Greek historians; and from hence were issued the swarms which inundated and subdued the Roman, the Chinese, and Persian empires. But while others had invaded to establish themselves in richer districts, Genghis was influenced by no other motives than the lust of plunder and conquest, and felt the greatest

pleasure when he inflicted the greatest desolation. In the year 1220 he reduced Bokhara and Samarcand, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. The same fate attended Balk and Termed. His sons over-ran Kharism, Khorasan, and Iraque. In the former alone, the number of persons massacred is stated at two millions four hundred thousand; and the fall of Nishabour and Merou was accompanied by the destruction of above three millions. In 1222, Herat was captured, and one million six hundred thousand of its inhabitants were slain. After thus converting his conquests into a desert, and preventing the possibility of revolt by leaving no hands that could wield a sabre, Genghis divided his dominions between his sons. To Tulikhan he gave the sovereignty of Khorasan, Persia, and the confines of the Indus; and proceeding towards China, of which he meditated the subjugation, he died of fatigue, on the line of march, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. *

The distractions which had taken place in the kingdom of Hindustan, upon the death of Altumsh, encouraged the Moguls to invade that country. In 1240 they crossed the Indus,

* A. D. 1226.

and ravaged the Punjab as far as Lahore. And in 1244 they made an irruption into Bengal, by way of Thibet. In the next year they again crossed the Indus, invested Outch, and advanced upon the Beyah; but though assisted in these invasions by the Gickers and some rebellious chiefs, they were not able to make any permanent establishment. In the mean while the throne of Delhi was ascended by Mahmood II., a vigorous prince, who first reduced the rebels, and then carried his arms beyond the Indus into the province of Ghizni, which he rescued from the tyranny of the Moguls.* Several successive invasions were afterwards repelled by this prince and by his successors, Balin, Kaicobad, and Feroos II. These western successes were new, and were owing to a regular plan arranged by Balin, for the defence of the country. It consisted in keeping a strong force on the river Rauvee, near Lahore, and in giving battle to the enemy in the neighbourhood of that city.

Feroos II. was succeeded by Alla I. He carried his arms into the Deccan, and distinguished himself by repulsing the Moguls, who attempted the Punjab, in 1296, with a hundred thousand

* A. D. 1252.

men, and again in 1298, with double that force. Their first invasion was defeated at Lahore; the second in the plains of Delhi. They made a third attempt in 1303, and having advanced as far as Delhi, retreated in a panic. The following year they were again defeated, and in 1305 two successive armies experienced the same fate. These repeated disasters so much depressed the nation that Hindustan was, for several years, freed from their incursions, and the generals of Alla were enabled to carry his arms into Cabul and Candahar.*

Thus the race of Genghis failed in their endeavours to reduce Hindustan; and they were the only invaders who ever failed. But their

* Alla established regulations for the collection of the revenue, and fixed the payment at half the annual produce. He also settled the pay of his troops, giving a horseman from eighty to two hundred and thirty-four rupees a year. He was one of the ablest of the Pitan sovereigns of India, and distinguished himself no less by his justice than his policy. "The traveller slept in safety on the road side from the sea of Bengal to the hills of Cabul, and from Cashmere to Tillingana." *Dow's Ferishta*. The case is widely different at present in some of these provinces. The husbandman carries his sword as well as his plough into the field, and none but armed men can traverse the Punjab. Where the pursuits of the farmer are so dangerous, those of the merchant must be impracticable.

defeat was owing, not to the natives of the country, but to the Pitan or Afghan chiefs, who had established themselves in its government, and who maintained for some time numerous and well disciplined armies. Unhappily, the successors of Alla did neither pursue his measures, or inherit his abilities. The respite which they enjoyed from foreign hostility was wasted in private dissensions and in civil wars, instead of being employed in securing their western frontier. But the descendants of Genghis Khan had also degenerated in the adjoining provinces of Cabul and Khorasan ; and both countries were left in the enjoyment of a dangerous calm, which was soon disturbed by the incursions of Timur.

This prince, destined to give monarchs to Hindustan, was born at Casch, a small town of Transoxiana, in the year 1335, and descended from the same ancestors with Genghis Khan. In 1370 he besieged Balk, and, having captured it, with its prince, assumed the sovereignty of the country, and extended his conquests over Samarcand and Khurism. In 1380 he crossed the Oxus, and invaded Khorasan. The ensuing year he dismantled Herat, from whence he advanced upon Kedestan, Nishabour, and Mazanderan. In 1383 he added Sejestan, Candahar, and Cabul to his conquests. The two following

years were employed in the reduction of Persian Iraque, and, for some time afterwards, he was engaged in a tedious war with the king of Descht Kapchak, whom he pursued beyond the polar circle.

Having defeated his northern enemies, reduced the whole of Persia, and secured the passes of Candahar and Cabul, he proceeded to the Indus, which one of his grandsons had already crossed, as far back as 1394, for the purpose of investing Outch. Timur found the conquest more than half achieved by the defeat of the Pitan army on the Beyah, by the capture of Multan, and by the rebellion of the principal chiefs of the empire. The emperor himself, Mahmood, the third of the name, was deposed by Ecbal, and the whole country was plunged into the greatest confusion and distrust.

While the empire was thus agitated, and without a leader, Timur crossed the Indus near Attock;* and after he had taken a strong fort deserted by the Pitan commander in that district, he proceeded to the south-east until he reached the

* Built and named by Akber, one of Timur's descendants, and the Augustus of Hindustan.

confluence of the Chelun and Chunab, which he crossed by a bridge of boats, and advanced upon Shahnawaz, leaving behind him the strong fortress of Tolunbah uncaptured, and contenting himself with the destruction of the town and its inhabitants. At Shahnawaz he found magazines of corn, and great wealth ; these he gave up to his army, and, after three days' rest, moved to the Beyah, crossed this river, and proceeded into a rich and abundant country.

In the mean while his grandson was besieged in Multan. The king hurried back towards that place, and, after raising the siege, advanced with his best troops towards Delhi, by way of Ajodin, Chaliscote, Battenize, Sirsutty, Futteabad, Rahib, and Jonah, massacreing all the inhabitants he met with. The rest of his army, dispersed over Multan and Lahore, spread destruction as they went, until they reached Keytil near Samana, at which place Timur had appointed a general rendezvous of his forces. From Keytil he advanced in order of battle to Paniput. Here he experienced the effects of his predatory invasion in a scarcity of provisions, which obliged him to pass into the Dooab before he attempted Delhi. He crossed the Jumna at some distance above the city, stormed the fort of Louni, and then moving downwards along the river, he en-

camped opposite to Delhi, thus cutting off all supplies from the east, while the west was already wasted by the excesses of his troops.

The number of his prisoners was considerable. Timur thought he could ill spare a force sufficient to guard them while he crossed the river to the attack of Delhi, and was fearful of entrusting them to a slender escort. Humanity with him was seldom a leading principle ; it never interfered with his interests. Having therefore put to the sword a hundred thousand of the captives, and passed the Jumna, he easily defeated the opposing army, invested Delhi, which he gave up to plunder, and commanded a general slaughter of all its inhabitants. After exercising unheard of cruelties for the space of fifteen days, Timur returned to Firosebad and Paniput ; but a revolt called him again beyond the Jumna, against Merat, where he put the whole of the garrison to death. The accounts of the country near the upper Ganges made him solicitous to visit it, and the reports of the devastation occasioned in the Punjab produced a wish to return by another road. Therefore, instead of returning to Paniput, he advanced from Merat along the Ganges to Hurdwar, where he massacred all the Hindus whom he found there assembled for their devotion ; and after crossing the river, and reducing the towns on both its

banks, he proceeded between the northern hills of the Punjab, to Jumboo, and from thence, through Cabul, to Samarcand.

Never had Hindustan witnessed such cruelties as Timur inflicted. It had frequently been invaded, but plunder and empire were the motives of its former invaders. Timur's pleasure, like that of Genghis, existed in destroying. Providence, in its mercy to the people of this country, had preserved them from two of the three evils which were offered to David. He sent the sword among them, but the pestilence and famine were strangers to their soil. By the union of civil dissention and foreign invasion, the Pitan empire was completely dismembered. Malwa, Guzerat, Oude, Multan, and Lahore, were taken possession of by the viceroys, and little remained to the emperor besides the ruined city of Delhi, and a small territory in the Dooab of the Jumna and the Ganges.

Satisfied with wasting the country, and sure that he could reduce it to subjection whenever he pleased, Timur left no establishment in Hindustan, and passed the remainder of his life in ravaging Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, from whence he advanced with a large force to the conquest of China. He died in 1405;

and was succeeded by his son Sharoch, whose viceroy in Cabul harrassed the Punjab without effecting any permanent conquest in that still distracted country. In the mean while, Chizer, a stranger to the Pitan family, was placed on the throne of Delhi, supported by some, and opposed in arms by many of the independant chieftains of Hindustan.

The Gickers, availing themselves of the general confusion in the empire, revolted ; they called in the Moguls from Cabul, and employed the whole attention of Mubarick and Mahommed, the successors of Chizer, in vain efforts to restore order to the country. But a fresh rebellion put an end to the dynasty of Chizer,* which, in a succession of four princes, had held a disturbed dominion of fifty-four years. And about the same time the death of Sharoch occasioned a further division of the conquests of Timur, four of whose grandsons were the sovereigns of western Tartary ; of Khorasan, and the borders of India ; of Mazandaran, Georgia, and their dependencies ; and of Persia. The immediate consequence of these divisions of territory was a succession of family wars, which reduced the power of the descendants of Timur,

* This was called the dynasty of the Seids.

and left to the eldest of the family little more than the recollected grandeur of his ancestors.

The succession to empire must, in most cases, follow the law of succession to private property. Among the principal nations of Asia this law divides the property equally among the children, or makes it revert to the sovereign. But as, in the succession to empire, the first mode is the only one applicable, we find it to have been the one generally followed. The Tartar and Mogul conquerors divided their conquests among their children, as Alexander had done among his generals. But neither the remembered habits of military subordination, nor the natural ties of consanguinity, could obviate the ill effects of rivalry. Before the new conquests were consolidated, their possessors risked them in attempting the reduction of their neighbours, through an ambition of increasing territory, rather than of improving it. It is the observed effect of these divisions in Europe, which has led to the establishment of a different law of succession, which, instead of exciting rivalry among all the members of a family, strengthens the natural bonds, by making it the interest of all the younger to seek the favour of the elder, while it is that of the elder to strengthen himself by encouraging the prosperity of the junior branches.

After the deposition of the family of Chizer, the Afghan empire of Hindustan was again restored in the person of Beloli, who, in a long reign of thirty-eight years, recovered several of the provinces, and transmitted the crown to his son Secunder, and to his grandson Ibrahim II.

About the year 1500, the race of Timur were expelled from Western Persia by Ismael, the founder of the Sefi family, who added Khorasan and Western Tartary to his dominions. But they recovered in Hindustan what they lost in Persia, and in Babur and Akber made some atonement for the cruelties of their ancestor.

Abuseid, the great grandson of Timur, and the head of the family, had eleven sons; one of whom, Amer by name, was father to Babur, and transmitted to him the sovereignty of the small territory of Indija and Feighana. Babur was involved in the petty wars of his family; and after dubious successes in Cabul, Candahar, Khorasan, and Transoxiana, was at length stripped of his paternal dominions, and chased into Cabul. Availing himself of the possession of this province, and the confusions existing in Hindustan, he passed the Indus,* and after trying the force

* A. D. 1518.

of the enemy by the way of Berah and Pinhala, he returned to Cabul to recruit his army. To secure his rear he built a fort in Peshore, and after punishing the revolted Afghans, and reducing Candahar, he returned into Hindustan,* and advanced to Lahore. Here he was joined by several discontented chiefs of the country. From Lahore he moved forward to Debalpore, and across the Setleje to Sirhind, where a desertion taking place among the principal of his new allies, he was obliged to return to Cabul, leaving garrisons at Salcot and Lahore, and directing his officers to keep up the spirit of rebellion among the subjects of Ibrahim. Finding that his friends were defeated near Delhi, he again crossed the Indus,† and passing the Behat, reached Salcot, where he met the survivors, and proceeded with them beyond the Rauvee, captured the fort of Melwit, forded the Giger, and advanced within two days march of Shahabad. Here he dispersed the vanguard of the Pitan army, collected to stop his progress. After a halt of six days he moved forward to Paniput, where he encountered the whole force of Ibrahim, who was defeated and slain in the action. Delhi fell into the conqueror's hands, who immediately assumed the sovereignty of the whole empire, and established the dynasty

* A. D. 1523.

† A. D. 1525.

of the Moguls. His lineal descendant, Shah Akber, is still acknowledged the legal monarch of Hindustan, and exists on the generosity of the English nation, which his father deserted.

But this battle did not terminate the struggle. The recollection of the cruelties exercised by Timur against their ancestors exasperated the Pitans against the Moguls. The small force of Babur seemed one that might be easily overcome. Their own empire, which had so long existed, was also at stake ; and the issue of the contest was not so much the change of a sovereign, which they would not, perhaps, have heeded, as the contest of two hostile nations for superiority. But the circumstances of the contending parties were very unequal. Babur united the force of the north-west under his banners. The Pitans were torn by mutual dissensions, and were fearful of entrusting their cause to an individual chieftain. The cool courage and active discipline of Babur prevailed over the unsteady and divided valour of his enemies. At the village of Kava, on the frontiers of Biana, the confederates were overthrown. They no longer opposed him in a collected body ; but single chieftains maintained the dispute during the remainder of Babur's life. He died in 1530, and transmitted the sovereignty of Hin-

dustan, of Cabul, and Candahar to his son Humaioon.

An early quarrel with his brothers weakened the authority of this prince, and the formidable insurrection of Shahrock involved him in wars from 1530 to 1542, and finally compelled him to quit Hindustan, and to fly for refuge into Persia. The Pitans once more recovered the empire of their fathers, and held it until the year 1552, when Humaioon, after reducing his brother, who had taken possession of Cabul and Western India, received a message from his friends in Lahore and Delhi, inviting his return to the sovereignty of the country, which they represented as exhausted by civil wars among the Pitans. He advanced from Peshore by Rotas and Lahore to Sirhind, where the bravery of his son Akber effected the final defeat of the Pitans, recovered Delhi, and secured the Mogul empire in his own family.

The policy of the Mogul princes was directed towards the security of the western and northern frontier by the firm possession of Cabul, Candahar, and Cashmere, and by building several forts on the rivers of the Punjab. The reduction of Oude ; of Behar, Bengal, Orissa ; of the north-

ern parts of the Deccan, and of Guzerat, occupied Akber and his successors. The reign of the former, which continued fifty years,* formed the splendid æra of the Moguls. It was a period fertile in great personages, and the age of general improvement. The vigorous mind of Elizabeth was employed, in a reign of nearly equal length, in fixing the religion and independance of England. Henry the Fourth established a new dynasty in France, and acquired, by his high political virtues, the name of Great. The United Provinces had shaken off the domination of Spain. Gustavus Vasa secured his country from the tyranny of Denmark; and Spain and Portugal were in the full zenith of their American and Asiatic possessions.

But while most of the states of Europe were slowly proceeding, by regular gradations, to the establishment of that prosperity, which their posterity still enjoy, the Moguls rapidly declined from the elevation which they had hastily attained. All property by the laws of the empire was vested in the sovereign — honours, like wealth, were personal, and did not descend to the children of the possessor. The intrigues of the haram

* From 1555 to 1605.

destroyed the affection of brothers, and their jealousy of power united them in weakening its security. Without any law but the sovereign's will, the people were little more than slaves; without any support of hereditary nobles, and relying on the dubious allegiance of powerful chiefs, who dreaded the hand that raised them, the sovereign had no real strength. His personal conduct decided his fate; and it was too often the policy of the great chiefs to place upon the throne a weak prince whom they could manage, rather than a vigorous one who would manage them. As honours died with the possessor, he was anxious to accumulate all in himself, and little thoughtful for the future. The possession of power, the government of distant provinces, and the command of troops, who preferred action to ease, and readily followed any chieftain who would pay them, induced the viceroys frequently to attempt independance, and rendered the authority of the sovereign the shadow, rather than the substance, of royalty. He was always acknowledged, but seldom obeyed. Hence have originated the rapid rise and sudden change of Asiatic dynasties. They were hardly formed before their dissolution commenced; and as they were established, so they were subdued, by the sword of usurpation.

In the year 1625, and in the reign of Jehangeer, the Persians, under Shah Abbas, took possession of Candahar; and the Usbecks threatened Hindustan by the invasion of Cabul, and Persia by the occupation of Khorasan. A disputed succession, and an invasion by the Usbecks, marked the first year of Shah Jehan.* They attempted the reduction of the fortresses of Zohac and Cabul, but failed in both.† The treachery of Ali Merdan, restored Candahar to the Mogul emperor, and his valour defeated the Usbecks.‡ But the war continued in a languid state until Aurungzebe joining Ali Merdan,|| gave those Tartars a complete overthrow. After reducing the territory of Balk, he restored it to the Usbeck prince on his acknowledging the supremacy of the Mogul, and promising to keep within the limits of his own dominions.

Candahar was retaken by the Persians in 1648, and resisted the attempts of Aurungzebe and Dara in the four succeeding years. Shah Jehan died in 1666, a witness to the civil wars of his sons, to the impending ruin of his family, and

* Son of Jehangeer, who died in 1628.

† A. D. 1638.

‡ A. D. 1644.

|| A. D. 1647.

the prisoner of his son Aurungzebe during the seven last years of his life.

The Afghans, who still held possession of the hills of Cabul and the north-west bank of the Indus, and preserved the manners and government which had ever distinguished them, crossed the river in 1668, and invaded the Punjab. Near Haran, on the Indus, they were defeated by the generals of Aurungzebe, pursued into their valleys, and driven to the remotest of their woods. Their restlessness, joined to the frequent threats of the Persians and Usbecks, induced the emperor to maintain a large force in Cabul, and on the western frontier of the empire.

Shah Jehan had rebelled against his father, and in the rebellion of his own sons, received the natural punishment of his crime. Aurungzebe, the successful rebel, experienced similar disquietude in his latter days, and his death was followed by a renewal of those disorders which had distinguished every new succession in the family of Timur. Although he had extended the limits of the empire, these evils hastened its decline; for the person of the prince ceased to command respect, the minds of his subjects were familiarized to change, and every man ranged himself under the banners of some favourite chief.

The interest of the individual thus absorbed the welfare of the state, and the best blood of the country, instead of flowing for its defence, was shed in its destruction.

The Persians were, however, too much occupied in their struggles with the Usbecks, to avail themselves of the confusion consequent to the death of Aurungzebe; and the Usbecks were fully employed in maintaining possession of their new acquisitions in Khorasan and in the neighbouring provinces. The growing power of the Mah-rattas, established by Sevagi in spite of Aurungzebe, called all the Mogul forces to the southward, and occasioned a negligent defence of the west. The intolerant spirit of religious persecution exercised towards the Hindus of Ajmere, excited a confederacy of the princes of that faith, and effected their alienation from the empire, while the new sect of Seiks, professing unbounded toleration, and ready to receive into its society any proselyte, established their growing strength among the eastern hills, and spread themselves through the whole country from Lahore to the Jumna.

These were the cares to which, with a thirst for empire, Bahadar Shah succeeded in the year 1707. The plains of Agra, in which three hundred

thousand fellow-subjects appeared in arms against each other, ended the hopes and the life of one brother; and the death of another in the Deccan, relieved the emperor from domestic enemies. His decease, in 1712, renewed the civil wars. Four of his sons contended for his throne: of the four, the three youngest perished; and, after much bloodshed, the survivor was succeeded by the son of the second, who mounted the throne, under the name of Ferokshire, and was soon afterwards deposed and blinded, to make way for his cousin, Mahomed Shah.

The Persians, under the first Shah Abbas, had recovered Khorasan from the Usbecks, and had, as has been already mentioned, conquered Candahar from the Moguls.* This conquest brought them among the Afghans, who not being able to make any successful inroads, at that time, upon India, and unwilling to submit to their new

* It was taken in 1625, by Shah Abbas, restored to the Moguls in 1638, by the treachery of Ali Merdan, and recovered by the Persians in 1649-50, through the bravery of his sons. Shah Jehan had employed European officers in fortifying it, and its value was enhanced by its being the entrepot of the trade, as well as the strongest fortress, between Persia and India. Some idea of its wealth may be formed by the revenue which Persia derived from it — nearly 4380 pounds weight of gold.

neighbours, engaged in a warfare, which, after long harassing, at last extinguished, the dynasty of Sefi. The same year that deprived Jehan Shah of his crown, deprived the second Shah Abbas of his life. The kingdom of Persia was, at this time, seriously assailed by the Turks, who pushed their conquests as far as Bagdat ; by the Usbecks, who again invaded Khorasan ; and by the mountainous Afghans, who extended their armies over Candahar and Sejestan. Solyman, the successor of his father the second Abbas, was a slave to his eunuchs and physicians, and transmitted the empire, with these exhausting appendages, to his son Shah Hossein, the last monarch of the Sefi family, and totally unequal to contend with the hardy spirit and disciplined bravery of the Afghans. As the Pitans had formerly reduced Hindustan, so the Afghans, at this time, made an attack upon Persia. One of their chiefs, by name Meerweis, * artful and bold, was their leader. His forced residence at Ispahan enabled him to excite a disloyal spirit among

* His dying advice deserves recording : — “ If the Persians persist in attacking you, make terms on any conditions you can ; but if they are dilatory, and sleep over the war, advance yourselves, and proceed to Ispahan.” *Mem. du pere Krusinki*, vol. i. p. 269.

the Persian nobility. His pilgrimage to Mecca confirmed the opinion of his religion and loyalty, and removed the suspicions which had occasioned his summons to Ispahan. In 1709 he returned to Candahar, and making a plea of the infraction of the convention by which the Persians had tolerated the religion of the Afghans — an infraction evidenced by the attempt to extend the heresy of Ali, and to subject them to the government of the Christian prince of Georgia — he took arms, put to death the prince and the garrison, was acknowledged leader of the Afghans, and assisted by the treachery of some Persian officers, completely defeated the army sent against him.* Having established the independence of his country, he died in 1717, and was succeeded by Abdoolaziz Khan, his brother, and the guardian of his sons. The death of the guardian transferred the government to his murderer, Meer Mahmood, the second son of Meerweis. War with Persia was his first measure. In his route from Candahar, he advanced to Kerman, which he reached in January, 1718, at the head of ninety thousand Afghans, Gaurs, and Pitans. Failing in his attempt upon this place, he ravaged the surrounding country, advanced to

* A. D. 1711.

Ispahan, and reached its neighbourhood on the 8th of March, after traversing a desert of moving sand, unsupplied with any other water than what was afforded by a few cisterns intended for the accommodation of caravans.* Ispahan resisted all attempts to carry it by storm, but famine compelled it to surrender on the 22d of October, after losing above a million of people.† On the following day Shah Hossein surrendered his

* The distance from Kerman to Ispahan is a twenty-five days' journey to a horseman; from Candahar to Ispahan three weeks to a caravan. The army of Mahmood left Candahar in December; it remained some time before Kerman, and yet reached Ispahan on the 8th of March. The difficulty of this march must have been extreme. When Amurath invaded Persia by way of Tauris, he attempted to reach Ispahan by the desert, which is of less extent than that of Kerman, and was obliged, by want of water, to retire with the loss of above half his troops. Amurath had, indeed, his artillery to take with him, while Mahmood was unencumbered with baggage, and his troops joined a knowledge of the country to a long acquaintance with abstinence and exertion.

† The almost incredible population of Asiatic towns, as is evinced in the numbers which perished in Bockhara, Balk, Herat, &c. in Genghis Khan's time; at Delhi, and other places, in Timur's; and now at Ispahan, may be better believed, when we consider that the inhabitants of the country always fled into the towns on the approach of an enemy, and that the towns then contained the whole people of the district.

crown to the conqueror, who extended his authority as far as Casbin and Shiraz. The massacre of the Persian nobles and guards soon followed the possession of Ispahan, and the invader endeavoured to restore the population of the place by a colony of Arabs, and by several successive removals of Afghan families, who were safely conveyed across the desert, though no part of the country belonged to them, or was occupied by their troops. The murder of Mahmood, in 1725, made room for his cousin Ashruff, who, after obtaining several successes against the Turks, made a peace with them in 1727, and had his title recognized by the Porte, on consideration of giving up Khusistan, Lorientan, Rengian, Sultanee, Khilk, and Ardebil, with all of Irak, except its eastern frontier.

While the Candahar Afghans were employed in resisting the authority of Persia, the Abdalli Afghans, their countrymen and enemies, possessed themselves of Ferah, Herat, and the greater part of Khorasan. They were in possession of these fortresses when Mahmood Meerweis first invaded Persia, and an unsuccessful attack upon Ferah* seems to have determined that

* In 1716.

chief to attempt the route of Kerman and the desert.

During these transactions of the Afghans, the governor of Meschid and Merou shook off the authority of the Persian prince, Shah Thamasp, who was a wanderer in his father's dominions; the Russians seized upon several places on the south-west of the Caspian, and the Turks secured by treaty with the usurper Ashruff, as already mentioned, several of the western provinces of the empire.

Thus, then, it appears that the whole country from the Tigris to the Ganges was in a state of general confusion, and the two ancient empires of Persia and Hindustan were hastily proceeding towards their dissolution. The gates of Candahar, wrested from the former by the Afghans, were made the passage to its destruction. But those of Cabul, which checked the Usbecks, still remained in the Mogul's possession, and delayed his fate. The Usbecks and the Turkmans were in motion on the Oxus, and the plea of assisting the Persian king in the recovery of his dominions, introduced them into Khorasan. History points out the consequence of such alliances. The Usbecks became more formidable to their friend than to his enemies, and their

chief soon possessed himself of the sovereignty of the country which he undertook to defend.

In that chief we recognize Nadir Shah, born near Meschid in 1688, of the Turkman tribe of Afchars, and of the Kirklow race. After passing his first years in the petty warfare of his nation, he offered his services to Shah Thamasps, was soon appointed his general in chief, and after securing the whole of Khorasan, and expelling the Candahar Afghans from Ispahan and its dependancies, he dethroned the king on the ground of incapacity, and governed the country, first in the name of an infant, and, after that infant's death, in his own.

The first years of his usurpation were passed in securing the northern provinces, and in extending his authority to the westward and southward. This effected, he advanced against Candahar; and, after considerable difficulty, got possession of that strong hold, and either attached the Afghans to his armies, or dispersed them among their mountains.* India opened upon his

* Nadir Shah took the route of Aberkho, Kirman, and Kirk, to Sejestan; the latter place he quitted the 24th January, 1736, by way of Dilkhee and Dilaram, and on the 9th

view, but Cabul was yet uncaptured, and was defended by a strong garrison and a faithful governor. While doubtful whether he should advance or return, he received applications from the rebellious chiefs at Delhi, encouraging him to cross the Indus, and promising him every assistance and facility. This determined Nadir: he advanced into Ghizni, and took the town of that name,* on the 3d May, 1737. Cabul and Peshore, being unsupplied with further aid from India, fell also into his hands. Crossing the Indus, he proceeded by way of Visirabad and Katchee, to Lahore and Sirhind, which he reached the 8th January, 1738: on the 9th he moved to Ambal; the following day to Shahabad; and thence taking an easterly route to cut off the retreat of the Indian army, he attacked

February, reached Kerchek; on the 10th he crossed the river Hinmend, and experienced some difficulty from the want of fodder; on the 20th he passed the Argendab, and advanced to Koukeran, within six miles of Candahar, where he arrived the 10th of March, 1736; it stood a siege of twelve months, being taken on the 12th of March, 1737; Bost, Kelat, and Zemindaur, were captured during this interval.

* From Candahar Nadir proceeded to Kulat, Karabeg, Ghizni, Cabul, the river Gimrood, the passes of Keiber, Peshore, and the Attock.

it on the plains of Carnoul, and defeated the emperor Mahommed Shah with great slaughter. Delhi fell without difficulty into his hands.* The conduct of Timur was imitated by the conqueror and the place given up to plunder and the sword. After a five months' residence, and a forced treaty of partition, by which all the provinces west of the Indus, together with Tatta, were surrendered to Persia, Nadir quitted Delhi on the 25th of May, and proceeded along the northern hills to Lahore and Attock. The rainy season had now commenced, and so greatly retarded his return, that it was the 21st of November before he could reach Cabul. The following year was passed in the reduction of the ceded provinces, particularly Sinde, during his march towards which he experienced great difficulties, and lost the fourth of his treasures, with the greater part of his army. And when he arrived at Nadirabad,† built on the ruins of Candahar, revolts in Khorasan and Sejestan, and a succession of wars with the Tartars, employed his whole attention, and relieved India from the apprehended evils of another visit.

* On the 17th of January, 1738.

† On the 24th of April, 1740.

The influence of Nadir Shah, at the beginning of 1747, extended over the greater part of the ancient dominions of Persia ; but his cruelties excited several insurrections, and at length occasioned his death. This event took place at Futteh-bad, about eight miles from Khabouchan.* The conspirators secured the patronage, and obeyed the directions of his nephew Ali Kuli Khan, who was instigated to rebellion by the hope of personal elevation, and by the indulgence of a ferocious disposition. The first acts of Ali were the seizure of Khorasan and the massacre of Nadir's family. But his empire, acquired by parricide, was of short duration ; and his crimes prepared the way for the treasons of his brother Ibrahim, who, after defeating Ali, blinded and imprisoned him. Failing to obtain possession of the person of Shahrock,† the only surviving grandson of Nadir, Ibrahim openly resisted his authority, and, after an unsuccessful contest, suffered, with his brother, the just punishment of rebellion and murder.

* On the 8th of June, 1747.

† On the 29th of September, 1748. This prince, Shahrock, who united the blood of Nadir and Shah Hossein, was still alive in 1783, when Mr. Forster travelled through Persia ; he then governed the small territory of Meschid, and had two sons who carried on a civil war with each other. But as he had been deprived of his sight as far back as the

As Nadir Shah was a Sunni in his religious profession, and the Persians were zealous followers of Ali, his attempt to change their religion occasioned their inveterate hatred. To form a counterpoise to its effects, he courted the Usbecks and the Afghans. Among the latter was a person of the name of Ahmed, and of the tribe of Abdalli, to whom Nadir had shewn much favour. On his sovereign's death, Ahmed attacked the conspirators; but finding them too powerful, he retired towards Candahar, where, after possessing himself of the Cabul treasures, he formed an independant monarchy, and re-established the old sovereignty of the Afghans over those provinces, and over the greater part of Khorasan. The dissensions in Persia offered little to his ambition; but Hindustan, which he had visited with Nadir, presented a full harvest and an easy conquest. The authority of the emperor was reduced to a shadow: the principal of the state officers were contending for superiority; and while the Mahrattas on one side, and the Seiks on the other, were endeavouring to annihilate the empire of the Moslems, the latter called in Ahmed to accomplish their final destruction.

year 1748, he was unable to take any steps towards the recovery of that empire, which one of his grandfathers derived from inheritance, and the other had possessed by conquest.

The Mahrattas were first brought into notice by their successful resistance to Aurungzebe, in his expeditions to the Deccan ; and under the government of Sevagi and Sambagi, they established a considerable empire between the Nerbudda and the Punjab. They are Hindus of the Rajepoot tribe, and, like all the inhabitants of hilly districts, more inclined to patriarchal and popular government than to obey a regular chief. Hence the family of their deliverers, above-named, soon lost their authority, and were confined in the fort of Sattarah, while the government was administered by the descendants of a Bramin, by name Balla-rao, who, from the office of secretary, rose to the dignity of Peishwa, now enjoyed by his family as a right of inheritance.

As the Mahrattas had been kept together by the sense of danger, and by the talents of Sevagi and his son, so the weakness of the Moguls, and the imprisonment of the house of Saho, induced several of their chiefs to assume separate authority. The Boselah rajahs, who were related to the Rajahs of Saho, established themselves in Nagore. Among others, Ranojee Scindeah, a husbandman, disgusted with his occupation, entered the army, and, by his bravery, was advanced to the rank of Reseladhar. He left two sons by his wife, and two by a concu-

bine. Of the former, the one, Jey-assa, was assassinated, and the other, Dotajee-petel, was killed in an engagement with Ahmed Shah ; of the latter, the elder, Tekojee-petel, fell, in the same battle, with his nephew Jengho-gee, son to the assassinated chief ; and the younger, Mha Rajah Scindeah-petel, wounded at Paniput, succeeded to all the wealth of the family. This chieftain founded the empire which became so dangerous under his nephew, the present Scindeah, until reduced by the vigorous policy of Marquis Wellesley. The Holkars had an origin equally obscure, and have experienced a similar fate.

By the invitations of the viceroy of the Punjab, Ahmed crossed the Indus, and advanced towards Lahore. Alarmed at the near approach of his dangerous guest, the viceroy recollected his duties, and endeavoured to oppose him ; but the zealous treasons of Adina Beg ensured the success of Ahmed, who, after securing the two provinces of Multan and Lahore, proceeded from the capital of the latter towards Delhi, by way of Lodiana and Sirhind. The royal army was encamped in the pass of Majeiburrah on the Setleje. A movement to the northward enabled the Abdalli to cross the river without opposition. Several skirmishes ensued ; but the want of artillery, and the momentary loyalty of the

troops of the emperor, obliged the invader to retire with a considerable loss. Unhappily, the success of the Imperialists was dearly bought : the vizier Kummer-ud-deen, whose fidelity and courage excited the blushes and the emulation of his rivals, perished in the action. The emperor died soon after his trusty servant ; and if any thing could have roused the old spirit of the Mogul chiefs, the corpse of their prince carried round the tomb of his hero would have had a magic influence ; it would have unsheathed the sabres of the whole nation to maintain his son, and have called forth an oath never to return them into their scabbards until the enemy were driven from the frontiers of the Punjab, and the country secured from his future incursions.

In the ensuing year, the Abdalli again advanced to Lahore. But the governor at this time was the brave nephew of the late vizier, and one of the principal instruments of the Afghans' defeat in the preceding campaign. The dispositions made by Moyeen ul Mulk checked the progress of Ahmed Shah, and compelled him to conclude a peace on the conditions of returning unmolested to Cabul.

In 1752, he crossed the Indus a third time, with increased strength, while that of the em-

pire was diminishing. Once more he made himself master of Lahore; and the brave Moyeen ul Mulk, deserted by the court, and unable to resist the invasion, was obliged to receive from the hands of Ahmed, the re-appointment to the government of Lahore. He survived the increasing miseries of his country but a short time; and his death, with the disorders it produced, brought back the Abdalli chief in 1759, and offered him the means of reaching Delhi without any difficulty.

Having plundered the city, and formed a family alliance with the emperor, Ahmed proceeded to the attack of the Jauts, who had become very formidable, at this time, under the command of Sooraje Mull. The Abdalli drove them from the plains among the mountains, and took one of their forts.

The origin of the Jauts cannot be traced back beyond the commencement of the last century, though Colonel Dow would derive them from the Jits of Mahmood Ghasnevi. They were originally petty zemindars of the country, which extends between Agra and Jeypore.

The absence of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, enabled them, under their chief Churamana, of the Sewennee tribe, to form a confederacy,

which was chiefly distinguished by the plunder of the adjoining territories, and when attacked, dispersed among the Narwar hills. It was by this chieftain that the fort of Bhurtpore, lately the scene of so much British valour and blood ineffectually expended, was built. The civil wars which followed the death of Aurungzebe enabled Churamana to extend his power, and to assume the independance of a sovereign prince; but after his decease, his son Mohunsing was compelled to pay tribute to Jeysing, the scientific and enlightened rajah of Jeypore. Mohunsing was succeeded by his son Bodun, who relieved himself from dependance on Jeypore, and left to Sooraje Mull a rich and flourishing country. The weakness of the emperor Mahomed Shah enabled Sooraje Mull to form a new establishment. He was created an Omra, assumed the title of Rajah, and, from the warlike habits of the Jauts, and their proximity to Delhi, has become very formidable to the empire. He acted a conspicuous part in the confusions of the times. Though allied by treaty to the visier Sutder Jung, he was deserted by him, and left exposed to the hostility of the Mahrattas and the court. The enmity of Ghaze ud deen, who had deposed the emperor Shah Ahmed, brought the Abdalli against the Jauts, and compelled Sooraje Mull to throw himself into the arms of the Mahrattas; but

finding them divided among themselves, he made his peace with Ahmed, and deserted the Hindus at the battle of Paniput. The grant of Agra rewarded his duplicity; but in attempting to punish Sujah ud Dowlah for the desertion of his father Sufder Jung, he was surprised and slain, on a hunting party, by a detachment from the army of the Rohilla chief, Najeeb Khan, who reduced the Jaut empire during the following ten years, and left little to the descendants of Sooraje Mull beyond the territory of Bhurtpore.

The next measures of Ahmed were directed against Muttra, which opposed a feeble resistance, and fell into his hands. His conduct at this city offended all the Hindu race. Muttra was a place sacred in their opinions; and Ahmed set fire to its temples, and massacred its inhabitants. From Muttra he intended to advance against Agra; but a serious sickness in his army obliged him to return towards Candahar.

The Abdalli's sixth visit in 1760 was occasioned by the disturbances of the Seiks, who, availing themselves of the weakness of the empire, had spread their arms and their reformed Hindu faith through the hilly country which extends between Lahore and the Ganges. Combining their forces with the Mahrattas, whom

the Shah's cruelties at Muttra, and his avowed purpose of persecuting the Hindus, had greatly alarmed, they drove his son, Timur Shah, from the government of Lahore, and extended their arms to the Indus. To revenge this insult, and to repress the growing power of the Mahrattas and Seiks, the Abdalli advanced upon Lahore; from thence to Jumboo, and across the Jumna, into the Dooab, where he was joined by the Rohilla chief, Najeeb ud Dowlah, and several other Mahomedans, whom bigotry had induced to consider the contest as for the future religion, rather than the safety of India. Thus strengthened, he returned to Delhi, and moved into the neighbourhood of Sirhind, where he obtained a complete victory over the Mahrattas.

This defeat produced still greater exertions among the Mahrattas. They again took the field under the command of Biswas-rao,* and besieged and captured Delhi in the absence of the Shah, who, having passed the rainy season in the Dooab, was unable to ford the Jumna to the relief of the garrison. At length the waters subsided, and the Afghan army re-passed the river,

* The son of the Peishwa Balla-rao; he was but nineteen years of age, and after displaying great gallantry, fell in the battle of Paniput.

and encountered the Mahratta forces in the plains of Paniput.* The battle commenced at noon, and continued until sun-set. The Mahrattas were again defeated, and all their principal chieftains slain. They have not yet recovered this fatal day, which put an end to their hopes of expelling the Mahomedans from Hindustan.

But the Seiks, who had hitherto preferred a desultory warfare to the decision of a battle, and had committed depredations on both parties, now made head against the Shah. In the following year they were defeated with great loss near Sirhind; but they soon recovered themselves, and, although they have been since often beaten, they have never been subdued. On the contrary, their continued and persevering hostility at length obliged the Abdalli to relinquish his intention of subduing the Punjab, which he never visited after the winter of 1767.

From that period, this fertile country became the territory of its defenders, the Seiks, who extended their government from the Indus to the neighbourhood of Delhi, and have since maintained a successful warfare against the successors of Ahmed Abdalli, whom they have been long

* In January 1761.

induced to consider with the utmost abhorrence, as the enemies of their faith, and the persecutors of their race.

After the Persian invasion, the actual possessions of the Mogul emperor were reduced to the small district lying between Paniput and the Jumna. The Seiks possessed themselves of the Punjab—the Mahrattas and Rajepoot princes of the countries between the Punjab and the Deccan. Oude and its dependancies were dismembered by the vizier Sufder Jung,* and his son Sujah ud Dowlah. Najeeb Khan seized upon Rohilcund and Agra; the peninsula was occupied by the Mahomedan chiefs, who had been entrusted with its government. Bengal and Bahar had been also separated from the empire by their nabobs, and Shah Allum beheld himself the acknowledged emperor of Hindustan, without army, revenue, or establishment.

Persia, from whence arose the evil which precipitated the family of Timur, has also suffered

* Sufder Jung, the father of Sujah ud Dowlah, who died in 1775, and grandfather of the late nawaub Asoph ud Dowlah, who died in 1798, and of the present Sadut Ali, was the son of Sadut Khan, a Persian, and a soldier of fortune.

equally with Hindustan. Nearly all the family of Nadir Shah fell in the confusion which followed his death. The only survivor, his grandson Shahrock, long maintained himself in the petty district of Meschid. Kureem Khan established an empire in southern Persia, and Aga Mahomed formed one in the northern.

In southern Persia something of a stable government was established by Kureem Khan, who, under the humble title of vakeel, and under the pretended authority of one of the Sefi family, ruled the lower provinces with absolute power and considerable ability for the space of thirty years. He died in 1779 : but neither the length of his reign, nor the wisdom of his regulations, could secure the succession to his son, or prevent the ravages of a civil war. A dispute between his brother and a kinsman ended in the massacre of both, and introduced a more distant relation to the throne. The reign of Jesir was a continuation of internal distraction, and was terminated, in the usual manner, by an assassin. The bravery of his son could not preserve him from his father's fate, and only put off the hour of transferring the empire of Persia from the family of Kureem Khan to that of his mutilated rival Aga Mahomed. This chief, who was of the tribe of Kajjar, celebrated for its courage and duplicity, had,

with his family, fallen into the hands of Kureem Khan. The greater part suffered death : but Aga Mahommed was preserved alive, though deprived of virility and freedom. The latter he recovered on the death of his rival, and repairing to Mazandaran he established himself in its government, where he continued to maintain a dubious contest with the several usurpers of Persia, until he at length succeeded to the undisturbed sovereignty of the country on the death of Loolf Ali Khan, and transmitted the crown in peace to his nephew, the present king.

But the security of the present king of Persia, Futteh Aly Khan, is derived more from the exhausted state of the empire than from the attachment of his subjects either to his family or person. Weak, indolent, unwarlike, ungrateful, he possesses little beyond the appearance of power, and though he commands a body guard of twenty thousand chosen cavalry, his military establishment is an object of little real terror. It cannot add much to the actual strength of the invader, and may take away greatly from his means of subsistence. But should the allied armies of France and Russia appear in the provinces of Persia, that country, if its real interests are consulted, will have strong motives to court our alliance, we little evil to dread from its hostility.

There is, at the same time, an hereditary enmity between the Persians and Afghans. The allies of the one will be the foes of the other. The hostile invader of Persia will find many obstacles in his way to Candahar, though the weakness of that power may not be able to repulse him. But the ally of Persia, who may cross the desert with some facility, will be sure to encounter the bristled terrors of war in every defile of Afghanistan. In either case his progress will be impeded, though it may not in either be prevented. The union of both powers cannot, perhaps, overpower the invaders ; but this union is not to be expected ; on the contrary, the nature of defeated Asiatics should make us prepared to find them enrolled under the banners of their conquerors.

It is, however, the duty of this country to avail itself of every means of rendering the Persians sensible to the true motives of the invaders, although it may not be advisable to employ any part of our force in their protection ; and to provide in time against any diversion which may be attempted by way of Bussorah and the Persian Gulph, by the immediate appearance of a British squadron in that neighbourhood.

I understand, and it appears most strange, that

the French have obtained an ascendancy at the court of Persia ; I say it appears most strange, because the solid advantages which Persia has derived from our friendship, and the solid injury which it has to apprehend from our hostility, should have inclined it to a special connection with our Indian government. France has nothing to offer but participation in future plunder, and that sort of predatory alliance which must infallibly destroy the weaker power. How then is this ? We have sent splendid embassies to the Persian court. Nothing could be more magnificent than the public entry of Colonel Malcolm ; nothing more worthy of the nation he represented, and no man more likely to conciliate those he visited. Yet while we endeavoured to leave a deep impression of the national character, the French have attended more successfully to the national interest ; that partial interest which considers success and honour as synonymous, and laughs at the observance of the morals which it appears to inculcate.*

Yet Persia has great need of our alliance against the evident designs of Russia, which

* This was written in January 1808. We now know (April 1809) that the Persian court actually refused to receive General Malcolm, and that the French are active in organizing troops and founding cannon in that country.

she has long feared and suffered much from. The last twenty years have been occupied by wars and encroachments, and the hostility of the two countries has advanced to such a state as to prevent quarter from being given on either side. Fortunately for Persia, the unhealthiness of the climate to the Russian constitution has destroyed more men than the sword ; but the progress of the Russian arms, though slow, has been persevering ; and the emperor may feel fresh inducements to penetrate beyond the baleful coasts of the Caspian into the more healthy provinces of the interior, and to the shores of the Indian ocean.

During these wars we have been known to the Persians as the intimate allies of the Russians. Such a connection must naturally have awakened their suspicion, and when emblazoned by the arts of French emissaries, may have reasonably occasioned the reserve with which all our overtures have been received.

But between Russia and Persia, between the Greek church and Mahomedanism, there never can be cordial union, and the Persians feel it. As the French are now the allies of Russia, and as both are engaged in war with Great Britain, may we not avail ourselves of this circumstance to change the disposition of the Persian court,

and to renew that intimacy which formerly existed between it and this country?

It is well known to many, that, when Nadir Shah was forming a plan for checking the encroachments of Russia along the shores of the Caspian, he considered a fleet in that sea as the most likely means of success, and employed a British merchant of the name of Elton in superintending its construction. Had the usurper lived a few years more, he would, in all probability, have effected his purpose; but his death, and the ensuing disorders of the country, put an end to those preparations, and left Russia to accomplish her designs. The Caspian fleet has not since been thought of. But is not this a proper time to urge the measure to the court of Persia, and to offer that assistance in completing it, which the British nation is beyond any other qualified to afford, and which, by extending our intercourse with the interior of that country, will open a wide field to our commerce and manufactures, and give to long-suffering Persia the means of private happiness and public security?*

* The late reception of General Malcolm appears discouraging, but it is to be hoped that his temper and knowledge, with the assistance of Sir H. Jones, and the co-operation of other circumstances, may produce an event equally beneficial to both nations.

While Persia has encountered so many changes, the neighbouring empire of the Afghans has been far from stable. These people present a singular appearance for Asia. They have never been conquered. Their ancestors opposed the invasions of Alexander, and as we have seen already, retired among their mountains when unable to resist in the field. In after ages they repelled the attacks of the Parthians ; and checked the enthusiastic proselytism of the Arabs. In the eleventh century, one of their tribes extended its ravages into India and Transoxiana. And soon after this, another tribe established the Pitān dynasty in Hindustan, where it flourished with various success until annihilated by the valour and policy of the Moguls. Yet they lost not their courage with their empire ; but though Candahar and Cabul, with the plains depending thereon, were wrested from them, they preserved among their native hills their lawless freedom and patriarchal customs. A pastoral nation has few wants, and great restlessness. Preserved from the dissipation of towns, its population overflows, while the resources of its supply are limited by the extent of its territory. Hence the Afghans made continued war, either on India or Persia ; with what success has been already stated.

The apprehensions under which Nadir Shah made them labour were removed, after his death, by the successful ambition of Ahmed Abdalli, one of the ten tribes of their own nation. His empire extended over Cabul, Candahar, the greater part of Khorasan, Sejestan, and Sinde. The Punjab experienced the evils of his presence ; and the whole of Cashmere, with the left bank of the Indus, submitted to the authority of the renovated Afghan empire.

Ahmed Abdalli was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who pursued the same measures of securing his western frontiers against the contending chiefs of Persia, and of extending his authority over Hindustan. But his successes in the latter, did not equal those in the former direction. Nor was he well qualified for a conqueror. The Seiks obliged him to relinquish his designs, and to confine himself to his districts west of the Indus.

Greater activity, without greater success, attended his son Zeemaun Shah. This prince, influenced by his own ambition, and instigated by the persuasions of emissaries from Tippoo Sultaun and the French, repeatedly invaded the Punjab, and kept the British troops on the frontiers of Oude in a state of constant activity

between the years 1795 and 1800. Treason at home, rather than the valour of the Seiks, prevented him from establishing his power in the Punjab, and removed so dangerous a neighbour from our vicinity. Subsequent to these events, Zeemaun Shah has been deposed and deprived of sight, and a counter-revolution has been effected, by which he has been restored to freedom. But blindness being a disqualification for empire among the Afghans, the sovereignty has been exercised by his brother Mahomed Shah, not without a formidable opposition from some other Afghan chiefs, who have excited divisions in Candahar and Herat, and have endeavoured to establish a separate and independant government in each of those provinces.

Situate between Persia and India, in the track of an army approaching the latter from the westward, the Afghans will naturally attract the attention of the French as well as of the British government. Their repeated wars with the Persians and Seiks have implanted a rooted enmity to both people. They have also suffered so much from western inroads, that they are not likely to receive an army among them from that quarter; and they are so jealous of their liberties as to suspect its approach in any other. Their character, indeed, is not much to be relied on, for they

are treacherous and cruel. But interest and passion will ever guide them, and if we apply to these the proper stimuli, we may move them as we please.

No enemy can cross the Indus in security unless the Afghans are previously subdued. But the strong defiles with which their country abounds may be converted into a complete barrier to Hindustan. When an invading army has to march a great distance towards its object, every degree of delay is a degree of defeat. Its success must depend upon the rapidity of its movements, which nothing will more contribute to prevent than the dispute of passes, and the alarm of flying detachments on each point of the line of march. It is seldom that the defenders of any country should hazard a decisive battle; those of a hilly country never should.

Now, if the French enter Persia as allies, which it seems probable will be the case, the hostility of the Afghans may easily be excited against them. If as enemies, the ravages which they will be found to have committed, and particularly their treatment of the females, will prevent the Afghans from giving them a friendly admission. The French must therefore force it. It will be necessary for us to anticipate such an

event, for it will be too late for the Afghans to think of resistance to the enemy when their defiles are already in his possession.

Nor is the establishment of a barrier in Afghanistan the only circumstance which should urge us to a treaty with its government. The utility of cavalry in eastern wars is well known ; and those who have been in India are acquainted with the difficulty and expence of obtaining horses of a good description. Now Cabul is the great entrepot between Tartary and India, and it is computed that at the annual fair in that city more than sixty thousand horses are sold. By forming an alliance with these people we shall be able to select the best description of horses, on reasonable terms, and at the same time prevent the enemy from procuring a force so essential to his proceedings on the left of the Indus.

Fortunately our opportunities of influencing the Afghans are not inferior to the advantages which we may derive from their friendship. A considerable part of their revenue is derived from duties on the merchandize of India, and from the tribute of Cashmere, and of their remaining possessions on the left bank of the Indus. By possessing ourselves of the navigation of this

river, we may, at any time, obstruct these supplies. Cashmere can be easily reduced, and with the Afghan district in Hindustan, may be made the reward of our Seik allies, who are the natural enemies of the Afghans. The latter will, therefore, have much to fear from our hostility, while a connection with our enemies will afford them little to hope beyond plunder, hard blows, and the chance of subjugation. All the Asiatics are alive to these considerations whenever they are clearly laid before them.

Such has been the fate of the countries between the Caspian Sea and the Indus. They have been much more frequently ruled by strangers than by natives, and generally conquered from one set of barbarous invaders by another still more ferocious than themselves. Their present state is equally deplorable with their ancient. It is much more deplorable than when they were ruled by the first race of Persia known to Europe, by the successors of Alexander, by the Tartar tribes who established themselves in Parthia, or even by the descendants of Ismael Sefi. Each province has now its sovereign, and every village its tyrant. From Astrabad to Herat, the country is a prey to the despotism of an unprincipled military, or to the incursions of the Turkmans. Afghanistan, new as the dynasty is which has

been there established, is already in its decline, and torn by the private dissensions of its chiefs.

Under this view of the subject, we see no reasonable grounds to hope that the enemy can be successfully combated, by any native efforts, in his progress to the Indus. He may, indeed, be much impeded, if early and effectual steps be taken ; but if they are not, there is little to be relied on west of the Ganges itself. If we look at the nations occupying the intermediate country between the two great rivers of India, we cannot see much in their present state on which we can depend for our own security,

The Seiks, who command the Punjab, have no regard for civil government, but every person who commands ten horsemen, feels himself an independant chieftain, scorns laws, and proclaims defiance to the world. Cashmere, and part of Multan and Sindé, still pay a public acknowledgment to the Afghans. The Rajepoots, who inhabit the hills between the Punjab and the Deccan, are weakened by mutual conflicts. The Mogul emperor, Shah Akber, is a dependant on the British government, which his unfortunate father deserted : and the British government possesses the banks of the Ganges and Jumna.— But are these sufficient defences ?— Is it here

that the stand is to be made to preserve India against the misery of an invasion from the united barbarians of Tartary and Gaul?

History informs us that every battle which gave to the invaders the possession of Hindustan, was fought not far to the westward of Delhi: that all the judicious defences of the Gaurian princes against the Tartars, were made on the rivers Beyah and Rauvee, in the neighbourhood of Lahore; and that, in the opinion of Babur and his successors, the empire could not be secure unless it extended to, and possessed the passes of Cabul and Candahar.

Shall we take example from history, and prepare to encounter the enemy where success is most likely to attend our efforts? If we meet him on the confines of the Jumna, we shall find him encouraged by the unobstructed passage of the Indus and the Punjab, and refreshed with the abundant produce of that country and of Cabul. And though, in his march from the Caspian Sea to Candahar, it is not likely he may meet with any difficulties but what arise from the want of water, of forage, and provisions, which, as well as artillery and stores, must be procured at Astrabad or Balfroush, and be provided for a march of at least three months, yet

we may consider these as sufficient to disqualify him for a contest on the banks of the Indus, where we can oppose him with a disciplined army, and with all the other means of annoyance which a river of great depth and breadth will enable us to employ.

But there is not much reason to believe it can be effected so soon as in *three months*. Agreeably to the very accurate account of Mr. Forster, the distance from Candahar to Balfroush is 1120 miles, the greater part of which consists of a sandy desert, ill supplied with water; the remainder of a mountainous, cold, and woody country. Mr. Forster left Candahar, with a caravan, on the 8th of October, and arrived at Balfroush the 29th of January, having stopped twenty-three days at Herat, fifteen days at Ter-shish, eight at Sharoot, and eleven at other places. His stoppages amounted in all to sixty-one days, which, deducted from the number between the 8th of October and the 29th of January, leave fifty-six days for travelling. He performed this journey, therefore, at the rate of twenty miles a day, and this was as much as it was possible to effect. But an army, encumbered by artillery and stores of all kinds, cannot, even when uninterrupted by an enemy, march above fourteen miles a day, and should halt every seventh day

at least. At this rate it cannot reach Candahar from Balfroush, or Astrabad, in less than ninety-seven days. How many are the accidents which may lengthen this time? But at Candahar the enemy will be still far from India. Its distance, by way of Cabul, the usual route, is still five hundred and twenty-eight miles from Attock, and the greater part of it obstructed by hills. This will employ, then, about forty-six days more, even if the Afghans aid them. We cannot, therefore, consider the march from the Caspian to the Indus, as occupying less than one hundred and forty days, or twenty weeks. It will require skill to set out in the best time for crossing the deserts, and to arrive on the Indus before the rainy season commences.

If the Persians aid the advance of the enemy, the Afghans, who hate the Persians, and Christians more than them, will probably oppose it. The Afghan mode of warfare is well adapted to the hilly country they occupy; and they will have to contend with an enemy, reduced by a long march through the desert, and in want of every necessary. They will have time to prepare for his approach—to waste every thing which they cannot carry away—to occupy every defile through which an army may pass, and to defend its approaches with artillery. It is true

that this people, unaided, will not be able to resist his progress, and that they may prefer their own single efforts to any European assistance. But the Hindus and Mahomedans of India are well known to the Afghans, both are in our service, and will be kindly and readily received as allies at Peshore and Cabul.

But it is possible that instead of resisting, the Afghans may be tempted to join, the invader. The spoils of Hindustan, and the subversion of the empire of their old enemies the Seiks, may induce them to such a step, and we know that formerly they joined Nadir Shah, and were the best troops in his army. In this event we are to expect the joint forces of France and Russia to be replenished in Cabul with all the necessaries which they may require, and to advance through Peshore to the Indus with a powerful accompaniment of new allies. What then are we to do? — To permit them to cross the Indus in safety — to subdue or conciliate the Seiks — to effect a junction with the Holkar, and any others of the discontented Mahrattas, and thus to rush in an irresistible wave upon Delhi, Agra, and Oude? Are we to leave them, quietly, to occupy a rich country, to screen their rear by several rivers and forts, and to chuse where they shall attack us, whether on the banks of the Ganges, or in the

heart of the Peninsula? Surely not! The Ganges and Jumna form an excellent barrier against the Seiks, but not against the invaders of Hindustan. The rivers of the Seik country, the Punjab, form the proper barrier of the present British India. Its defences should be continued from the mouth of the Indus to the hills of Cashmere, and along these hills to Loll Dong, and the passes of Tibet.

The power that possesses money, and pays its troops well, will never want soldiers in India. But the safety of an empire is not to be trusted to a battle. France availed herself of the ancient system of fortresses, to repel the invasion of the allies in the last war. She had before, on more occasions than one, witnessed the success of such defence, and her enemies have lately had woeful occasion to lament their acting on a different system. Had the fortified places in Austria and Prussia been placed in proper condition, and been well supplied with stores—Had the country, in the enemy's line of march, been wasted, and his out-posts always assailed, but his main body never opposed, he must have soon retired, or have been speedily starved. But a pitched battle, as it afforded him every thing to hope from victory, and every thing to dread from defeat, inspired his utmost exertions.

Those who defend, think they may defend again: but those who attack, in an enemy's country, know they must either conquer or perish. The decision of a battle is, therefore, what they most anxiously desire; procrastinated warfare of defence, what they most seriously deprecate.

The country of the Punjab, so necessary to our defence, is now occupied by the Seiks, whom we may consider in religion as reformed Hindus, and in their politics as the Swiss of India. Their reformation was effected, towards the close of the 15th century, by Nanock, a Hindu of the chittry cast. He forbade the worship of images, and the exhibition of religious pageants. He required that the temples should be plain, and the Deity adored without addressing any intermediate agency; and, while the Bramin excluded proselytes, and established the gradations of rank, Nanock admitted the former, and levelled all distinctions among his followers. For the regulation of the conduct of his disciples, he left a book, which, to ensure their greater reverence, was written in a new character, and to deserve it, was stored with the knowledge of fifteen years, employed in travelling through Persia and Arabia. He was born at Tulwundy (now Rhaypoor), sixty miles west of Lahore, in

1469, and he died at Dhayrah, on the banks of the Rauvee, forty miles north of Lahore, in August, 1539. In the interval between the latter year and 1708, Nanock had nine successors in the priesthood. The last was named Govind-sing, and was distinguished by his successful opposition to the troops of the empire. On his death, no successor was appointed ; but a disciple of the name of Bunda collected the nation round his standard, and carried desolation and conversion to the neighbourhood of Delhi.

This people, who equally despised Brama and Mahomed, excited the hostility of the followers of both. The former were without power ; but the fervour of the Mahomedan princes was employed in persecution. Its consequences increased the religious zeal of the Seiks, and occasioned their irreconcilable hatred. They then possessed the northern hills, and though sometimes defeated and driven back, they returned speedily to the lower lands, and wasted the surrounding country. Regular troops could make little impression upon them. The strength of the empire was already in decline. But what power failed, bigotry endeavoured to accomplish ; a price was set on the head of every Seik, and the captive obliged to submit to circumcision or death. With the firmness of belief, and the intrepidity

of conscience, the Seiks shewed many martyrs, but no apostates.

The invasion of Nadir Shah called them forth, and the carelessness with which he conducted his return from Delhi exposed his baggage to their successful plunder. The governor of Lahore, Meer Munnoo,* made several attempts to reduce them ; but though dispersed in several actions, they continued unsubdued ; and taking advantage of the general confusion arising from the expeditions of Ahmed Abdalli, and of the dismemberment of the empire among the different chieftains, they succeeded in getting their independance acknowledged by a treaty with the new Lahore governor, on the condition of aiding in the annoyance of the Afghan, and of effecting his entire expulsion from Hindustan.

This governor of Lahore was Adina Beg, a man of great military talent, and greater intrigue. He had originally called in Ahmed to maintain his power, and afterwards opposed the invader, well knowing the usual treatment of a traitor. For the more effectual expulsion of Ahmed, he had invited the Mahrattas into the Punjab. It was

* Or, Moyeen ul Mulk.

this confederacy that proved at Paniput so fatal to the Mahrattas and the empire, and gave to the Seiks the occupation of the Punjab, where they have maintained themselves against the repeated attacks of Ahmed Shah, and his two successors, Timur Shah and Zeemaun Shah.

The great objects of these people are, free exercise of their religion, personal independance, and plunder, rather than domestic occupation. Like the Rajepoot inhabitants of the hills south of the Punjab, they are admirably fitted for the annoyance of an invading army. Offers of service will bring 50,000 to your banners, and the desire of plunder will make them active in harassing the enemy, whom they will effectually prevent from sending out small detachments, or from covering any greater extent of territory than their army occupies. Accustomed to a life of hardship, they can bear great deprivations; and knowing the effects of want of fodder, they will readily execute any orders for wasting the country in the enemy's line of march, and exposing him to the certain operations of famine.

All the rivers of the Punjab are navigable almost to the hills from whence they flow. There is but one place at which an army can safely cross the Indus. It is Attock, the place where

Alexander, and every successive invader, entered Hindustan. Hephestion was sent forward to prepare a bridge—shall the French general be permitted to do the same?

Experience, and the nature of the country, therefore, suggest that the first measures of defence will be to secure the navigation of the Indus and the Punjab rivers, and to prevent any of the boats, employed in their trade, from falling into the enemy's hands.

On considering the spot at which an attempt may be made to cross the Indus, and the route likely to be followed from thence, two towns in particular, Attock and Multan, arrest our attention; and for the greater security of the upper stream, a third station offers itself in the village of Bazaar. The Indus is navigable to boats of a large size. The possession of Tatta will secure the Delta, and preserve the communication with Guzerat and Bombay. Multan, built near the confluence of three of the Punjab rivers with the Indus, commands the approaches in that direction, and the free navigation to Lahore along the Rauvee. It also covers the Setleje,* which flows

* The geography of this country is not yet well known. It is not yet ascertained whether the Setleje and Beyah join

at no great distance, and communicates with Delhi and the Jumna ; — a matter of great moment, because boats from Lahore and Lodiana can drop down as far as Tatta in twelve days; though the voyage upward is of as many weeks.*

An invading army must proceed from Attock, either directly eastward, through the passes guarded by the fortress of Rotas, upon Lahore ; or, inclining southward, across the confluent streams of the Chelun and Chunaub, between their junction and Multan. A small force, placed at an ancient fortress on the left of the Chelun, near the confluence, may for some time command the crossing ; and if forced, will still be able to fall back upon Tulbana, or to drop down to Multan. When the river is crossed, the enemy, upon reaching the Rauvee, may have to encounter all the collected defence of troops, artillery, and boats, extending from Lahore down to Multan, and having Tulbana as their centre. In

the Rauvee, or flow by a separate channel into the Indus. Indeed, nothing certain is known of the Indus itself ; and it is strange that the last information of any authority on this subject is to be found in Arrian. Why is it not surveyed ?

* *Vide*, Hamilton's Account of the East Indies.

addition to this, a few days can bring reinforcements along the Setleje from the vicinity of Delhi ; and an army on the banks of that river will be able effectually to cut off all communication with the Mahrattas, excepting by the Ajmere desert, to the natural difficulties of which will be added, the entire occupation of the banks of the Indus and Rauvee by our forces.

A further advantage of this position arises from the facility with which the enemy's supplies can be cut off, and our own be secured. The province of Guzerat will send its produce along the left bank of the Indus ; and all the collected stores of Bengal, and the upper stations of the armies, may be forwarded across the Jumna to the Setleje, without any apprehension from the enemy's incursions.

Thus it appears, that the defences of the company's territories consist of three lines, on the Indus, the Rauvee, and the Setleje, before the enemy can approach the Jumna. These lines are flanked by Multan, and the desert of Ajmere to the south ; by Bazaar and the Cashmere mountains to the north ; and they may be made to communicate with each other by strong

positions on the different rivers and passes of the country. *

What we already know of the Afghans and Seiks, will readily suggest the means of occupying Tatta, Multan, and Attock. A fleet of gun boats from Bombay may command the Indus. The banks of the Setleje have been already in our occupation, and the forests at its source, if encouragement be afforded to the inhabitants, will supply timber for any number of boats which may be required, not only for that river, but also for all the others. Our object is not the conquest, but the defence of the Punjab against the worst enemies of the Seiks, their western neighbours. The Seiks we should court as individuals; and by obtaining for them an acknowledgment of their right of possession from the emperor, attach them as a nation to our interests, as landholders to the soil, and relieve them from any jealousy of our designs, and from any doubt that they shall be considered as lawless usurpers of territory. But these arrangements will be best made, and will doubtless be made, by our government abroad — I only pre-

* Attock, Rotas, the Chelun fort, Talbana, Lahore, Firoosporc, and Lodiana.

sume to throw out the hint. It would be presumptuous and unsafe to attempt the details in this place.

I may, however, add, that it appears highly wise that we should pay particular attention to the Hindus, and conciliate the continuance of their confidence by every effort in our power. From them there is not any great danger to be apprehended. Powerful as the Mahrattas were, we found them only capable of a defensive war. Their power is now diminished, and having felt our superiority, they will accept our favours with the greater gratitude. Should they not, and should Holkar and Scindeah evince a readiness to renew hostilities, their efforts may not only be balanced by the opposition of the other chieftains of the Mahratta confederacy, but by another still more effectual method, that of encouragement afforded by our government to the Rajepoot princes, who have long watched the growing power of the Mahrattas with great jealousy and uneasiness.

In the Rajepoot princes we recognize the descendants of the ancient Hindu sovereigns of India, who, after being driven by their invaders from the plains, retired among the hills which separate the Punjab from the Peninsula, and there

preserved their independance, and the recollection of their descent. With the princes of the Pitau race they waged a various warfare. For a time they were compelled to submit to the Moguls, and served in their armies on exemption from the capitation tax. The tyranny of Aurungzebe induced him to attempt the establishing of this badge of Mahomedan superiority, and occasioned a revolt among the Rajepoots. One of their princes, the Jeysing, who afterwards built the city of Jeypore, and was considered as the best astronomer in India, wrote a letter of remonstrance to the emperor on the effects of his conduct and intolerance. It is well worthy the attention of modern converters, and evinces equal temper and reflection. *

During the attempts made to subdue the Deccan, the country of the Rajepoots was repeatedly traversed by the armies of the Mogul, and their princes were often at their head. Naturally zealous for the security of their own faith, they befriended the enterprizes of Sevagi and his son, though they commanded the forces against them. The house of Saho claimed descent from the Rana of Chitore, and added another motive to the alliance. But since the Peishwa confined

* It may be found in Orme's Fragments.

the sovereigns of that house, and assumed the government in himself; and particularly since new men, such as Scindeah and Holkar, have established themselves in the possession of exclusive territories, the Rajepoots have felt more alarm at the progress of Hindus than that of the Mahomedans had before occasioned.*

Nor has their alarm been without grounds. Their territories have repeatedly suffered from the aggressions of their powerful neighbours; and it is not among the least of the evils accompanying it, that they have been compelled to yield submission to persons whom they consider usurpers, and of a cast infinitely below their own.

While thus menaced by the Mahrattas from the southward, and frequently harassed by the Seiks from the northward, the Rajepoot princes may be considered as our natural allies, and will always look to us for protection against their powerful and encroaching neighbours.

* The principal Mahratta power, that of the Peishwa, is the power of a successful servant over his deceived lord. The Rajepoots being of the same family with the Saho rajahs of Sattarah, consider the power of the Peishwa as an usurpation, and that of the other chieftains, who are descended from officers belonging to the first Peishwa, as of a still less legitimate nature.

By detaching the Peishwa and Guicawar from the great Mahratta confederacy, we have already effected the perfect security of the sea coast of Western India. But Holkar and Scindeah, both restless and ambitious, both sufferers in the late war, and anxious to repair their losses when an opportunity for so doing may present itself, can never be safely considered as allies upon whom we can depend, or even as neutrals whom we need not watch with vigilance.

The territories of these chiefs, in a great degree, separate ours from those of the Rajepoots, and are separated by the latter from the Punjab and the Indus. An additional motive is offered by this circumstance for that intimacy with the Rajepoots which may effectually prevent a junction between the Mahrattas and the invaders of India.

Of these Rajepoot princes, the Rana of Oudipore* has precedence, and claims the sovereignty of India, being descended from the ancient rajahs of Canouje, and the Persian conqueror Noshirvan. From this family have sprung, by an illegitimate branch, not only the rajahs of Sattarah, already mentioned, but also the Bho-

* Or Mewar.

selah, or Berar rajah. But the power of the rana is greatly unequal to his rank. His dominions extend through a hilly country for about 150 miles long, and 100 broad. They are bounded to the north-west by Joudpore, to the north by Ajmere, to the north-east by Khotah and Bundy, and to the south-east by Malva. The cultivated lands are for the greater part in possession of the Mahrattas, who distress the country by arbitrary and severe exactions. Yet there are several strong places in the hills still in possession of the Rajepoot chiefs, who are of the Sesodiah tribe, and consider themselves independant of the Mahrattas. The country produces sugar, indigo, cotton, and abounds in iron and sulphur. The cattle are small, the horses numerous, and the rana is supposed capable of furnishing a force of 12,000 cavalry.

The rajah of Joudpore, or Marwar, who also claims descent from the sovereigns of Canouje, is possessed of greater power and territory than his neighbour of Oudipore. The country is stated to extend for 450 miles in one direction, and 350 in another, and to be covered with 5,000 villages. It is particularly fertile to the southward; but, though rich in salt and lead mines, and inhabited by the Rhatores, the bravest of the Rajepoot tribes, it has not been able to

elude the payment of tribute to the Mahrattas. The rajah derives his chief revenue from transit duties, possesses the power of life and death over his subjects, and entertains a force of about 25,000 men in his service.

To the north of Joudpore we find the sandy track of Beyk-aneer, bounded to the west by the desert, and to the south-east by Jeypore. Here also, as in Joudpore, the prince is despotic. The nature of the soil, and the difficulty of obtaining water, make the cultivation very indifferent. The revenues of this country, which were formerly derived from transit duties on the passage of merchandize from Surat and Tatta, are now drawn into a different channel through Jeypore, and it is at present principally distinguished for its horses, especially those of the Lackee jungle, which adjoins it. It extends in length about 250 miles, and in breadth about 150, and furnishes an ill-equipped force of about 8,000 men.

Jeypore, which has Beykaneer to the north-west, Joudpore to the west, Oudipore to the southward, and Bhurtpore to the eastward, is well watered, and very productive in grain, cattle, and copper. The soil is cultivated by the Jauts; the rajah is rich in a revenue of above seventy lacs of rupees, and an army of nearly

fifty thousand infantry and cavalry, accompanied with a numerous artillery. But the encroachments made upon the feudal tenure have considerably reduced the military ardor of his subjects, and his troops are neither so brave or so well commanded as those of his neighbours. The Jeypore Rajepoots are of the Kutchwa tribe, and trace their origin from Ramchunder. The first prince reigned about two hundred and fifty years ago, and his descendants often served in the armies of the Mogul.

The above are the principal of the Rajepoot princes in Hindustan; and though their separate force is not formidable, their collected strength may be employed to the most salutary purposes. We cannot, however, quit them without remarking the melancholy effects which the convulsions in this country have produced. It has been already stated what force they are capable of furnishing at present. The severity of their suffering will be estimated, when the reader knows that they furnished Akber with 86,500 cavalry, 347,000 infantry, and a revenue of above five crore of rupees!*

When we look to the Mahomedan powers in

* Ayeen Akbery.

India, how greatly must we admire the vigilance and vigour of the Marquis Wellesley, who, by the timely subjection of their increasing empire, has afforded us additional security for the defence of our own. These powers, many of Tartar and Persian origin, and all rebels to the authority under the shelter of which they grew, would readily have attached themselves to the invader, with the hopes of sharing in the plunder of the Hindus and the English. As subjects, they may be kept in order, and be rendered useful — as allies, they never can be trusted in the hour of danger.

But our principal efforts must be directed to assure the whole of our Indian subjects and neighbours, that the blessings which our influence has brought upon them, will be continued by the same conduct which rescued them from petty tyrants, from civil wars, and from religious persecution. That we shall continue to respect those usages which they hold sacred; that they shall always remain unmolested in the exercise of their customs, laws, and religion; and that we will not authorise any persons to proceed offensively among them, for the purpose of destroying the objects of their highest veneration; of abusing the faith in which their ancestors were educated; or of destroying those gradations

of rank, which have been so long deemed essential to their happiness. We must convince them, that insult to their feelings, to their prejudices, and their interests, is not encouraged or permitted by the British government; and that, although we shall be ready to supply them with the means of higher knowledge and better morals, we shall take no steps to force the diffusion of either; but leave the Hindu, the Seik, and the Mahomedan, in the free exercise of his worship, contented with his obedience to our acknowledged authority, and with the preservation of our empire from internal feuds and external enemies.

While we preserve the confidence of these people, and possess the command of Egypt, of the Indian seas, and the banks of the Indus, we may set invasion at defiance, although Buonaparte himself, with the unhappy and blind Alexander, should combine every effort in the attempt; and as long as we use economy in our resources, pay well our native troops, lead them into battle, and fulfil our engagements to them, so long shall we be able to raise large armies, and to employ them from the banks of the Nile to the mountains of Cashgar. But if we thoughtlessly rely on the obstacles between Europe and the Indus, and consider invasion as

impossible, because it has not been yet attempted: if we leave the enemy quietly to occupy Egypt, and to spread himself from thence across the coasts of Arabia and Persia — if we suffer him to cross the Indus, to occupy the Punjab, and thus uniting the combination of two armies at the opposite extremities of our dominions, to attack the Peninsula and the banks of the Ganges, only one thing more is necessary to our certain destruction — it is to send out missionaries by the fleets of this season, to encourage dissertations in the native languages upon the absurdities of the native religions, and to publish an order in council for the conversion of all the Hindus and Mahomedans in our empire.

In the earnest hope that nothing of this kind is intended, and fully convinced of its danger and inefficacy, I have only to add my apology to the reader for having so long, and, I fear, so unprofitably, trespassed on his time.

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